

CATHOLIC CHURCH AND FASCIST STATE

AS was to be expected the Lateran Treaty, which passed the Italian Chamber on May 14th and the Senate on May 25th, has provoked very varied comments from the world at large. Catholics universally rejoice at the freeing of the Apostolic See from any appearance of civil domination, and at the very wide recognition by the State of the rights of the Church in Italy, for they believe that the occupant of that See is Christ's Vicar on earth, and that the Catholic Church is the handiwork and oracle of God. Non-Catholics, who of necessity regard the Church of Rome as a man-made institution, or, at best, as a perverted Christian "Church," aiming at an unwarranted domination over the rest of Christendom, are viewing with alarm a measure which formally recognizes, not only the supra-nationality and absolute independence of the Papacy, but also many at least of the supernatural claims of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, these latter have already taken, and will continue to take, occasion of this momentous Treaty to discuss once more the prerogatives of the Roman Church and, in general, the right relations between Church and State. No doubt, we shall be faced for some time with the dissection of a problem which started on the Day of Pentecost and will end only on the day of doom,—viz., whether and how far civil governments should take cognizance of a power, claiming the allegiance of their subjects on other grounds than patriotic, and, in its own sphere, not amenable to their jurisdiction? Or, more radically, what should be the attitude of mankind, organized into civil communities, towards the revelation of God entrusted to that universal community, the Church?

Clearly, it should be the same as that of the individual, for religious obligations bind both alike. Men cannot evade God's just claims upon their worship and obedience by combining into social groups. However, *de facto*, the individual may or may not accept God's claims, or, accepting them theoretically, he may in practice disregard them: a variety of attitudes naturally reflected in society at large. Thus we never find wholly atheist, nor, again, wholly Christian, communities; although their rulers may for a time be one or the

other. To-day, *e.g.*, the Government of Mexico is altogether secular, whilst the Soviet despotism is actively atheistic. On the other hand, Ecuador, under the brief second Presidency of Garcia Moreno in 1870, remains almost the only example in history of a State which was for a time Catholic in actual practice.¹ Of course, before the disruption of Christendom in Europe, believers predominated everywhere, and Christian morality was universally recognized as binding, however too frequently flouted in practice. But there have been heresies from the beginning and innumerable scandals; consequently, the world has never witnessed in man in the bulk even the moderate goodness of life to which many individuals attain.

The Catholic Church, therefore, wherever situated, must always expect opposition from an imperfect world; she can never count on more than local and temporary victories. In England, for instance, after centuries of bitter persecution, she is enjoying a period of imperfect toleration, though regarded as an alien institution; her claim to be arbiter of morals and interpreter of faith ignored, because her divine commission is denied. In Ireland, the government fosters and respects Christianity, not formally, but because its members and the people they rule are Catholic in the main. In America, though all forms of Christianity are professedly equal before the law, Catholicism is under a social and political ban, precisely because it claims to transcend nationality. In France, Eldest Daughter of the Church, yet traditionally restive under her rule, the Government has been allowed in the recent past, through the political divisions and general apathy of Catholics, to persecute the Church in the name of an atheistic laicism, although latterly the war has brought greater vigour into Catholic ranks and some measure of toleration. Even in Catholic Spain, the civil authorities have often been at grips with the ecclesiastical, and relations are regulated by a compromise, the customary "Concordat." Germany has been the scene of one of the historic struggles between the two powers, the famous Kulturkampf of 1872-1883, which in the end vindicated the Church's right to exist and function as a separate organization. It is needless to multiply instances of this perennial friction between the two divinely-established powers. This particular "scandal," amongst others, "must needs come," for it springs from the imperfection of human nature,

¹ Ecuador was the only State in the Old or New World which made formal protest against the spoliation of the Holy See in 1871, and its Government actually set aside one-tenth of the national income as a subsidy for the Pope.

taken in the bulk. The Church has a divine commission to instruct and, if need be, to correct mankind, and this must involve sitting in judgment on all the ethical doings of men, whether personal or national. If, as he does, the individual constantly resents this correction, how much readier will the civil authority be to resent it? Especially as the judge has no material means of enforcing his judgment.

Even when "Cæsar" believes in "Peter" and recognizes him as representing a higher authority than his own, he is ever on the watch to curtail, as much as he can, the divine prerogative of the Church and to usurp some of it himself. History is full of these intrusions of the secular power into the sanctuary, repeated endeavours to rule the domain of conscience. Gallicanism and the vagaries of Joseph of Austria are instances of its partial success; the German Protestant rulers at the Reformation and the English schismatic, Henry VIII., exhibit "Cæsar" as claiming the entire prerogative of "Peter" and, after the fashion of the pagan theocracies, becoming absolute in both the temporal and spiritual spheres. We cannot deny, though the instances are much rarer, that certain Popes and certain canonists have at times pushed the papal claims too far, and, theoretically at least, unjustly invaded the civil sphere. But in practice, and in the common teaching of the Church, the rights of "Cæsar" in his own domain are regarded as equally sacred with the rights of "Peter" in his. Both are derived from God.

The modern "secular" government pays little heed to this source of its power. Although often enough careless of popular rights, it professes to rule in the name of the people alone. It will tolerate a "national" Church as a sort of department of State, representing the religious propensities and preferences of its citizens, but it will not readily brook an organization which it cannot control and which asserts independent rights in such matters as education and marriage. Yet marriage is a Sacrament of the Church, and education means, first and foremost, knowledge and practice of the Revelation of which the Church is the accredited mouthpiece; consequently she cannot but claim an authoritative voice in both these questions, and in moral questions generally. All over the world, therefore, there is this organized body, transcending national boundaries, and fearlessly proclaiming the immorality of much that the State allows or enjoins—the wickedness of divorce, for instance, of Godless education, of usury and sweated labour, of selfish luxury, of indecency in

art and literature. And so, especially where the State does not even recognize the right of this mentor to say "Thou shalt," or "Thou shalt not," it shows its resentment by active opposition, extending sometimes to actual persecution.

When, therefore, a great power like Italy, which itself in the not-distant past joined with secularists everywhere in trying to abolish the Church's influence and to construct society on a non-religious basis, repents of its folly and begins to retrace its steps, Catholics are naturally interested to learn whether the resulting reconciliation is based, or not, on a genuine belief in the divine character of the Church's mission. Has S. Mussolini effected this Treaty and Concordat for the reason that Napoleon restored religion in France after the Revolution, *i.e.*, merely as an instrument of social order and stability,—or because he really believes in the God-given rights of the Church? We have not been left wholly to conjecture in the matter. Il Duce himself has declared his mind, not only in two notable speeches in Parliament, but also in an article in *The Sunday Express*, quoted by *The Catholic Gazette* (April). The Holy Father on his side has several times expressed publicly his views of the nature and effects of the Treaty. We can therefore set aside the biased interpretations, or rather the surmises, published by such critics as *The Nation*, *The Church Times*, Mr. Wickham Steed, and the rest, whose antecedents in regard to Catholicism unfit them for reasonable comment. If there is anything in the great Reconciliation which falls short of truth and justice, it will not pass undetected at the centre of orthodoxy itself. As we shall see, the Pope has already had to set in their true light certain points of Catholic doctrine, overlooked or misstated by S. Mussolini.

To ascertain the mind of that great man, let us first look at his article in *The Sunday Express*. It is not unfair to say that judging by that article and later pronouncements, his esteem for the Catholic religion arises from the fact that Rome is its centre and the Italian people its convinced adherents. If the latter had not been predominantly Catholic, if the Apostolic See had remained at Antioch or passed on to Madrid, one feels that S. Mussolini would have been much less zealous for the rights of the Church. He has the curious idea, expressed unequivocally in his speech to the deputies on May 13th,¹ that

¹ Only extracts from that very lengthy discourse have reached us so far, but all agree that the Premier said something to the effect that Christianity, planted in Palestine, became Catholic when it reached Rome; otherwise it might have perished like the sect of the Essenes.

it was the imperial genius of Rome that accounted for the survival and vigour of the Catholic Faith! The fact is that Rome's imperial genius did its best for several centuries to destroy that immortal Faith, and, in the end, that it was Christianity which preserved imperial Rome from destruction by the Barbarians, and gave it a spiritual destiny, far wider and higher than any earthly grandeur could achieve. S. Mussolini has got his values wrong. No Christian apologist denies how much the order, unity and transport facilities of the Pagan Empire contributed to the rapid spread of the Faith, but its supernatural vitality and power of growth came from Calvary, not from Rome. The modern State, Italy, owes its ultimate formation and nearly all its traditions of glory to the Popes and the Catholic Church.

However, that speech to the Chamber was not meant to teach the Deputies history. The Premier had the difficult task of upholding the policy which had despoiled the Holy See and of reversing its most harmful effect. It would be idle to pretend that the wonderful surface-unity of Fascism does not cover a certain variety of religious and even political ideals. To speak figuratively, a rent in many a black shirt would disclose a red; accordingly, court had to be paid to the *Risorgimento*, and the fiction maintained that not an inch of the stolen territory had been restored. In his *Sunday Express* article the Premier asserted, or at least implied, that the loss of the Temporal Power has caused the Church to grow in spiritual prestige all over the world, which is as much as to say that the Temporal Power was to the detriment of the Church's mission, and that Garibaldi was an agent of Providence! "The reality is," says Il Duce, "that since 1870, since the so-called (*sic*) loss of the Temporal Power, the Church has increased in spiritual dominion and prestige throughout the whole of the civilized world." He ignored the fact that in Italy itself, since 1870, the Church has been stripped of a vast amount of property, a material loss itself of little account if it had not meant the wholesale crippling of her work for souls, a great restriction of her sphere of influence, a fearful increase of irreligion, the growing prevalence of those atheistical secret societies, which in the interest of civil order itself, the State has finally had to suppress. Just as, materially speaking, the Citta Vaticana is a very poor substitute for the rich and extensive territory formerly under Papal sway, so there is nothing in the Concordat that can make atonement for the

irreparable spiritual damage to Italy caused by the *Risorgimento*.

Still we may be grateful for one explicit statement in the newspaper article, which may help to silence hostile critics. The writer says :—

The Italian Government before him [the Pope] occupies the same position as the French Government, or the Polish Government or the Argentine Government. He cannot and will not interfere with the internal affairs of the nations. . . . Italy, so far from wishing to use the Church for political purposes, has cleared the ground, so that all foreign representatives and dignitaries belonging to the Holy Roman Church will enjoy the most absolute liberty in the exercise of their offices.

S. Mussolini cannot, we feel, be too explicit on this point, if only for the benefit of his own ill-instructed followers. We learn from the *Osservatore Romano* that a certain Fascist Review has maintained that the Catholic Church is in its traditions and spirit essentially Italian and that therefore, under the Lateran Treaty, its policies abroad will reflect the aims and interests of the Italian Kingdom ! The writer in effect would strip the Church of one of her chief Notes and make her as national as Anglicanism ! It has always been the aim of "Cæsar," unable to suppress the rival power, to bring it under his own control. There is no move on the part of his secular adversary to which "Peter" on the other hand is more instinctively alive and which he more strenuously resists than this. God has doubtless conferred great honour on Rome by making that city the predestined seat of the Papacy, but He cannot be claimed to have thereby set aside the lately-founded Italian State as His Chosen People. Yet little short of this claim is made by a Fascist writer in the *Impero*,¹ who declares that the Fascist State is the "juridical incarnation of the first nation of the world,—namely, the Italian nation to whom God has granted a position of incomparable pre-eminence." While smiling at this youthful Jingoism, let us reflect that it is common form amongst Jingoes everywhere, not least among ourselves. Every movement, even the noblest, produces its stock of perfervid, unbalanced minds which distort its true nature and aims, and are not to be taken seriously. But they obviously give occasion to the enemies of the movement to misrepresent it.

¹ Quoted in the *Times*, May 17th.

It is clear, at any rate, from S. Mussolini's writings and speeches, that he is convinced that the Sovereign Pontiff, in virtue of the office he holds, must be entirely and effectively independent. Like the Master whom he represents, he is King by right divine. But it is not so clear that the Duce has the same appreciation of the rights of the Church, for the sake of which, as secured by the Concordat, the Holy Father has waived all his just territorial claims. In response, apparently, to the latent anticlericalism of his audience, the Premier, in both his Parliamentary orations, laboured to show that the State still controlled the Church in many important respects. The Supreme Pontiff was free, but the Bishop of Rome and the rest of the Italian hierarchy have only as much liberty as the Italian law allows them. Nothing shows more clearly that the Duce has not fully grasped, or did not really mean to apply, the traditional Catholic doctrine that the Church is a perfect society, essentially independent of the State in the exercise of her proper functions, than the way in which he has read the Fascist conception of the State into the general details of the Concordat. As we have seen, in all her relations with the Governments of the world, the Church has to be content with that measure, great or small, of her rights which she can secure, and is dependent for justice on the spirit of the various political regimes with which she comes into contact. The days of recognized clerical immunities and independent ecclesiastical courts have long gone by. The Concordat is very far from reviving them. We may quote from what the Premier said to the Deputies :¹

The Concordat ensures to the Church the free exercise of her spiritual power, and confers upon her a position of special consideration, because the Catholic religion is the religion of the State. Full liberty is, however, allowed to all creeds, and the equality of citizens before the law, whatever religion they may profess, is not, and could not be, in any way affected. In order to dispel any doubt on the subject, we will place before you a special Bill for regulating this matter; which, by unifying and co-ordinating the provisions actually in existence in various laws, guarantees in a tangible manner the free practice of any creed not contrary to public order and good citizenship, and shows once more that a man's religious confession has nothing to do with his civil and political rights as an Italian.

¹ See "The Sovereignty of the Pope," p. 32. C.T.S. 2d.

Then after stating that the clergy are citizens, fulfilling important offices, Il Duce goes on :—

The Concordat does not grant them any privileges distinguishing them from other citizens, who also discharge services of public importance.

Exemption from the fighting services, juries, and duties incompatible with the clerical state naturally follows, but clerical delinquents are amenable to common law, though ecclesiastical superiors are to be informed of processes against them.

These dispositions, and others, . . . concerning the consideration to be shown to priests and religious arrested or imprisoned, are by no means survivals of the ancient privilege of the ecclesiastical courts, once so persistently upheld by the Catholic Church. The law of the State admits of no exceptions.

Finally, in his concluding speech in the Chamber,—to judge by short and not very clear extracts—S. Mussolini recurred to the very necessary distinction between the local Italian Church and the governing Body of the Church Universal, residing in the Citta Vaticana. The latter was free and sovereign; the former subject, like every other religious corporation, to the civil law.

On the one side was the Vatican City, and on the other side was the Kingdom of Italy, which was the Italian State. It must be remembered that between the Italian State and the Vatican City there was a distance which might be calculated at thousands of miles, even though five minutes were sufficient to go and see this State and ten minutes to go round its boundaries. *There were, then, two Sovereigns, distinct, different, but perfectly and reciprocally recognized.* But in the State the Church was not sovereign and was not even free. She was not free because in her institutions and in her men she was subject to the general laws of the State and also subject to the special clauses in the Concordat. For this reason the situation might be defined as follows :—A sovereign State in the Kingdom of Italy [the Civil Prince-dom of the Pope]. A Catholic Church with certain pre-emnencies, loyally and voluntarily recognized [the Church in Italy]. Free admission of other forms of worship.

The fact that the Holy Father, after prolonged prayer and

discussion,' considers the Concordat as "if not actually *the* very best possible, certainly to be reckoned among the best,"² warrants our looking on it as in no way incompatible with essential Catholic doctrine. Compared with the state of affairs in the days of Crispi and Nathan, the Italian Church is entering on a joyful period of unhampered growth and reconstruction. Gone is that hateful divorce, so harmful to souls, between religious and political allegiance, gone that hostility, so unpleasant to both, between civil and ecclesiastical officials. This is the result upon which the Father of the Faithful most likes to dwell. As he said to the Diplomatic Corps on March 9th:³

Another touching voice is that of those, principally in Italy, who tell Us: "Now we shall begin again to fulfil our Easter Duties." It is a whole line of march, a vast region that is opened up; the region of conscience, the line of march of religious pacification. This is the highest point of view, infinitely more worthy of consideration than the civil and political accord of a country, great and inestimable treasure though that is.

Though the Church's mission is primarily to the individual soul, she must, in the very interests of that soul, concern herself immediately with the Family, the unit of social life. Hence her zeal for the integrity of marriage and for religious education. These matters are, of course, of supreme interest to the State as well, and around them, accordingly, as "mixed questions" has centred a perpetual conflict of jurisdiction. The Concordat, in the Articles (35-40) which deal with Education, shows traces of a compromise. Religious instruction in the Catholic Faith is secured for all elementary and secondary schools; the teachers employed and the text books used needing both to be approved by ecclesiastical authority. But, as if to conciliate the anticlericals, and although nothing is said one way or the other about the matter in the Concordat, Il Duce is reported to have assured the Chamber that religious teaching has been excluded from the State universities. This probably means that—to use euphemisms taken from his first speech, "Rome is not to be closed to the currents of new ideas and the conquests of modern thought"; in other words, that

² "We can truly say that not a line, not a sentence, of these Agreements, has not been, for at least thirty months, the subject of our study and meditation, and, most of all, of our prayers." See "How the Roman Question was Settled," C.T.S. p. 8.

³ *Ibid.* p. 23.

³ See "The Sovereignty of the Pope," C.T.S., p. 17.

atheistic philosophy and anti-Christian science may still be presented to the growing intellect of Italy without effective antidote.¹ Moreover, the Prime Minister is emphatic on the point that, apart from the one subject of religion, "no interference of the ecclesiastical authority in the teaching given in public institutions" can be allowed; seemingly, in no public schools will there be any formal guarantee that history, e.g., will correspond with truth, or science take regard of revelation. Education, it is undoubtedly implied, is the business of the State alone, with the Church admitted at the discretion of the State and only for a single subject.

We repeat that this is how S. Mussolini *interprets* the Concordat, reading, so to speak, between the lines. It was only right and proper that the other High Contracting Party, the Holy Father himself, should straightway give to the world what the Catholic Church holds as of faith regarding education, a doctrine wholly incompatible with the Fascist and Socialist theory that the State has rights over the child prior to those of its parents and of the Church. Replying to an address from the College of Mondragone, on May 15th, his Holiness clearly and frankly laid down the Christian law of education, with which, owing to our own prolonged struggle in its defence, we are so familiar in this country. Born of its parents in the natural order, born again by Baptism into the family of the Church, the child has and creates natural and supernatural obligations far closer and stronger than those which unite him to the State, real though these latter be. It is true, on the other hand, that, in the words of the Pope:²

The State certainly cannot and should not disinterest itself in the education of its citizens, but merely for the purpose of aiding in everything that the individual and the Family cannot furnish of themselves. The State is not created to absorb, to swallow, to annihilate the Family. This would be an absurdity contrary to Nature, as the Family precedes Society and the State. The State should not disinterest itself in education, but should contribute and procure merely what is needful to help to co-operate in and perfect the action of the Family in order to fulfil the desires of the father and the mother, above all in order to respect the divine rights of the Church. In a certain manner it may be said that the State is called upon to complete the work of the Family and of the

¹ Or it may simply mean that Chairs of Catholic Theology and Philosophy are not to be supported in State institutions.

² *Osservatore Romano*, May 16th.

Church because the State is pre-eminently supplied with means put at its disposal for the needs of all, and it is only just that it should employ them to the benefit of those people by whom they are furnished.

Consistent in his un-Catholic philosophy of government and desirous of impregnating the minds of the very young, Il Duce, as is well known, insisted on the dissolution of the Catholic Boy Scouts in favour of the Fascist Balilla, a step to which the Pope consented, as he said, "in order to ward off a greater evil"—probably the entire collapse of the negotiations, which, *de facto*, were held up for a whole year on this point. The modern secular State tends always to disregard, in the supposed interests of efficiency and uniformity, the rights of the parent in education; to say nothing of the rights of God, championed by His Church, and the rights of the child itself. Catholic though it calls itself, the Fascist State shows the same tendency, in order, as the *Impero* frankly tells us, to train the young "for war,"—not merely for defence, but "for conquest." We thought that the war had taught us the immorality of "Prussianism," which republican Germany herself has repudiated, but here is rank "Prussianism" sprouting anew on the banks of the Tiber. No wonder that the Holy Father condemns this detestable doctrine with Apostolic vigour:—

It is not for us to say that, in order to complete its work in the field of education, it is necessary, suitable, or opportune that the State should breed a race of conquerors, bred to conquest. That which is done in one State might also be done throughout the whole world, and, if all States breed with a view to conquest, what, then, would happen? In this way, perchance, one might contribute, not to a general pacification, but rather to a general conflagration! Unless the meaning was (and perhaps this was in effect the meaning) that it was intended to breed for the purpose of the conquest of truth and virtue; in such case we shall of course be in perfect accord. But where we will never be in accord is in anything that seeks to impede, diminish or deny that right which Nature and God have given to the Family and to the Church in the field of education. On this point we do not wish to say that we are intractable, because intractability is not a virtue, but we do say that we are merely intransigent, just as we could not fail to be intransigent if anyone asked us how much two and two made.

On the other "mixed question," matrimony, there is happily more thorough agreement. Religious marriage under the Concordat has of itself full civil effects, but it should be notified immediately to the civil authority. The clergy, in effect, like those of the Established Church at home, are equivalently civil registrars as well. This applies to all recognized creeds, though the fact appears only in the Bill giving effect to the Concordat, and it is a source of legitimate satisfaction to non-Catholics in Italy. Since the Church holds non-Catholic marriage as certainly valid, it is reasonable that the State should do so too; as it does the validity of purely civil marriages. The jurisdiction of the Rota over Catholic marriage-cases is fully recognized. As divorce *a vinculo* of consummated marriage has no place in the Catholic system, it is not mentioned in the Concordat. The previous freedom of worship enjoyed by non-Catholic cults is explicitly "admitted," not merely "tolerated." As about 98 per cent of the teeming millions of Italy are Catholic, an Education Question hardly arises, but we can safely say that non-Catholics in Italy are more justly treated than Catholics in England. The alarming picture drawn by *The Church Times* (Feb. 22nd) of the Italian police driving the children of unbelievers to compulsory catechism, indicates anti-papal animus rather than zeal for truth.

No Catholic can be otherwise than grateful for the enormous services to faith and morality which the Fascist regime has rendered. The cleansing of public life—the stage, the cinema, the Press, the libraries, the kiosks and hoardings—from that plague of pornography which always accompanies secularism; the suppression of secret societies; the restoration of that outward cult of religion which is the mark of a Christian State; all this cannot but make us view with patience and hope the first stumbling endeavours of a portentous experiment. But Fascism will not effect the Christianization of Italy except through the aid of the Church and in conformity with the Church's unchanging doctrine. It must *not* claim entire control of education; otherwise it will be denying rights earlier and more deeply founded than its own.

¹ "In this field we admit no negotiations. Education should be ours. These children should be educated in our religious faith, but we need to complete this education; we need to give these youths the sense of manhood, of power, of conquest; above all, we need to inspire them with our faith, our hopes." Mussolini to the Chamber, May 13th. The Catholic faith is to be taught to these young Fascists, just because it *happens* to be the faith of the Italians. Were they all Mohammedans, his claim would have been expressed just so. There is no feeling that a Christian education of itself is the best means of developing true citizenship.

"I am a Catholic first and an Englishman afterwards," said the 8th Earl of Denbigh in a noble phrase which set the two citizenships in their proper relation. S. Mussolini reverses that true order. "The Italian State is Catholic," he cries, "but it is Fascist; nay, it is above all Fascist, exclusively, essentially. Catholicism completes it, and we declare so openly, but let none think . . . of changing the cards on the table."

The Church has seen the beginning and the end of many political regimes. She herself survives because she is founded on the rock of immutable Catholic truth, and those civil polities are more likely to share her persistence, which share her foundation. We have no assurance as yet that Fascism is of this number. It is still at the parting of the ways. After the ratification, as the *Corriere d'Italia* (May 14th) prudently remarks,

will begin the delicate and interesting experiment of the relations between the Catholic Church and the National State, and the Fascist regime will have a truly magnificent opportunity of showing to the world its full political maturity and its perfect loyalty.

"Political maturity," for it is still in its experimental stage: "perfect loyalty" to the Church in whose divine mission it professes to believe.

JOSEPH KEATING.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MARTYRS

BLESSED JOHN FISHER, looking back in later life on the university of his youth, summed it up in the following words :—

Somehow, I know not how, whether it were the continual strifes with the townsmen and the wrongs they did us, or the long abiding of the fever, that tried us with a cruelty above the ordinary, carrying off many of our learned men, or that there were few or no helpers and patrons of letters—whatever were the true cause, doubtless there had stolen over well-nigh all of us a weariness of learning and study, so that not a few did take counsel in their own minds how that they might effect their departure, so as it were not to their own hurt.

Again, preaching early in the sixteenth century, he laments that :—

The religion of Christian faith is greatly diminished ; we be very few. . . . Therefore, merciful Lord, exercise Thy mercy. If there be many righteous people in Thy Church Militant, hear us, wretched sinners, for the love of them. . . . If in Thy Church be but a few righteous persons, so much the more is our wretchedness, and the more need we have of Thy mercy.

Then came that great prayer, so mightily answered :—

Change and make the soft and slippery earth into hard stones. Set in Thy Church strong and mighty pillars, that may suffer and endure great labours—watching, poverty, thirst, hunger, cold and heat—which also shall not fear the threatenings of princes, persecution, neither death ; but always persuade and think with themselves to suffer, with a good will, slanders, shame, and all kinds of torments, for the glory and laud of Thy holy Name.

Catholic England was even then sick unto death. Civil war between the rival Roses, which came to an end only when Fisher was a young student of 16 at Michaelhouse, had wasted the land ; priests were few and preachers yet more rare ; strife and want replaced virtue and learning. Yet the remedy was at hand.

John Fisher spent himself in untiring devotion to the revival of that great work to which Cambridge, like other uni-

versities, owes its very existence—the training of virtuous and learned Catholic priests. He gave his life for the Church of God in the most literal sense of the words, for the shedding of his blood in her defence was but the crowning act of a long, arduous career of superhuman labour, prayer and penance.

It is to the blood of our martyrs, drenching the soil of England for nearly 150 years, that we owe the wonderful Second Spring which is blossoming in our land to-day. And because our kinship with them is so close, and the very problems, which presented them with an issue of life and death, confront us with all the urgency of eternal life and eternal death, we may with advantage learn of them how to find the answer. The authority of St. Peter and his See, the indissoluble sanctity of marriage, the insidious and deadly poison of pagan ideas and heretical fantasies, the ruthless desire of material profit and pleasure, the neglect of Catholic teaching and the utter forgetfulness of God—are not these, the vital issues of the "Reformation," also the very battle-ground of the Church's struggle in England to-day?

The victorious answer of those who fought their way to an everlasting crown is always the same. "In hoc signo vinces." Through the Cross only comes salvation. And now, when devotion to our Martyrs is so much needed, we may traverse our own way of the cross better by following closely in their footsteps.

Blessed John Fisher gives an illustrious example, the principles of which all can imitate. All his life he was a man of prayer. He valued prayer, accompanied by varying degrees of penance, so much that, when a Carthusian of Sheen admired his writings, he replied that the time had been better spent in prayer, for that would have done more good and was of more merit. His devotion to duty, in small things as in greater, was so whole-hearted that he manifestly began, as all true reformers must, with his own soul. And such excellent scholarship resulted that academic honours were showered upon him. Prayer and work filled all his days; for indeed he gave no less than everything to God.

The first consequence was that he set an example to others which shone beyond academic circles, until the fame of it reached Henry VII. upon his throne. And its effect, instead of making the monarch tempt this shining light to his court, was to touch his own conscience. By way of making formal reparation for his former misuse of the royal prerogative of nominating bishops, as he himself owned, he offered the

young priest, who had become in 1504 Chancellor of the University and was then 35 years old, the bishopric of Rochester. "For none other cause," he wrote to his mother, Lady Margaret, "but for the great and singular virtue that I know and see in him . . . it should encourage many others to live virtuously and to take such ways as he doth, which should be a good example to many others hereafter."

Surely an almost inspired choice.

John Fisher cared nothing for honours as such, but he was persuaded to accept the "good work" of the episcopal office. And during the thirty-one years which followed, all Europe came to know him as "the model bishop."

All his friendships tended towards his life's great aim. "Virtue and Learning" were in effect his watchwords. They were his own outstanding qualities, of which Henry VIII. in his better days boasted to Cardinal Pole, to which his friend, Thomas More, testified, for which, explicitly, the Pope conferred upon him the Cardinal's hat. It was these same characteristics in Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII.'s mother, which initiated their mutual esteem, ripening into a noble friendship and expressed in the sublime work of realizing high ideals. John Fisher suggested, and Lady Margaret provided, two great colleges—Christ's and St. John's—for the training of virtuous and learned priests; two far-reaching professorships, to encourage the study of divinity and to bring its blessings into the lives of the faithful by means of worthy preaching.

To this greatest of all her Chancellors, the university owes the peaceful introduction of the New Learning. Keenly interested in the study of Greek, he invited his life-long friend, Erasmus, to lecture at Cambridge. He claimed for his students the powerful friendship of Sir Thomas More as High Steward of the university, and secured the royal favour.

But his life's work seemed to lie in ruins about him when, on May 2, 1534, the university took the fatal Oath of Royal Supremacy in Great St. Mary's. Still, it was then, when all seemed to be lost, that John Fisher scored his final and greatest triumph, shedding his blood for the sacred cause to which he had devoted his whole life. So the grain of wheat, falling into the ground, died; and the golden harvest was sown for others to reap.

He had prepared a tomb for himself in the chapel of St. John's, carved with his motto, "I will make you fishers of men"; but, while his body, dishonoured by his royal mur-

derer and later buried in the Tower Chapel, is lost to us, his true resting-place is upon the altars of the Church.

Signs there were that his labours and sacrifice had not been in vain. Though its defection nigh broke his heart, the university was never ungrateful to its devoted Chancellor, nor unmindful of him. In his hour of sore need, a deputation from St. John's brought him comfort in the Tower. St. John's was a posthumous foundation of Lady Margaret's, effected by Fisher as executor in face of innumerable difficulties and involving law-proceedings lasting for sixteen years, and no less than two references to the Papal court.

But it was Christ's, their first foundation in happier days, that gave him perhaps the greatest joy he knew on earth. From his prison window, on May 4th, 1535, the aged Cardinal saw the laden hurdles go by, dragging at the horses' tails the holy Prior John Houghton of the London Charterhouse, distinguished son of Cambridge, about to become the Proto-Martyr of the Reformation; Richard Reynolds, the "Angel of Syon," that brilliant student of Christ's and Fellow of Corpus; and John Haile, Fellow of King's Hall and Vicar of Isleworth—the first of our secular-priest martyrs. Six weeks later, another group followed: Sebastian Newdigate, Cambridge student, courtier, then Carthusian, and William Exmew, Procurator of the London Charterhouse and confessor to its prior, but also a distinguished Greek scholar of Christ's. Surely a son specially dear to John Fisher's fatherly heart, for here was the very ideal of his whole life realized, almost beyond his own hopes. Virtue of the highest order, enriched with deep learning, joined to that faithfulness unto death which was about to win him the crown of martyrdom and the halo of the Blessed.

So that chosen group of his own sons welcomed him to heaven when he in turn went to receive his own eternal crown, on June 22nd, 1535.

It is impossible within present limits even to mention each of the twenty-nine or thirty martyrs whom Cambridge University gave to the Church's roll of honour.¹ But those first "golden priests" were the leaders of a shining company, the last of whom died at Tyburn on June 29, 1679, in the person of Father Anthony Turner, S.J.

Their ranks include priests, secular and regular, laymen, converts, repentant apostates, and cradle-Catholics of un-

¹ That happy task is reserved for a forthcoming volume.

wavering fervour. Henry Heath of Corpus, whose conversion was the outcome of his custodianship of the ancient treasures gathered in his college library ; whose example inspired four of his companions to enter the religious life ; whose sublimely fervent life was crowned with martyrdom in answer to his own strenuous prayer—another model of that linked virtue and learning John Fisher desired in his sons. Richard White (or Gwyn) of St. John's, the merry-hearted schoolmaster, husband of a noble wife and father of six children, who, though he fell into apostasy through human weakness, yet repented so gloriously that he became the Proto-Martyr of Wales. Thomas Alfield of King's, seminary priest, who yielded on the rack, but recovered with such determined courage that he returned to England with Cardinal Allen's famous books, to suffer with constancy torture again, and win the crimson crown at Tyburn. Philip Howard, the famous young Earl of Arundel, favourite of Elizabeth, who sacrificed all that this world can offer to gain the pearl of great price : and never wavered through ten years of imprisonment : dying in loneliness, refusing the Queen's offer of pardon and restoration to his young wife and to the little son he had never seen, if he would only once attend a Protestant service, with the gallant message : "He declined to accept her Majesty's favours on this condition, and that his chief sorrow was that he had but one life to lose in so good a cause."

Henry Walpole, Jesuit, of Peterhouse, a Protestant lawyer, converted by the splash of Campion's blood on his coat as he stood in that crowd at Tyburn, destined to follow him to the priesthood, the rack, and martyrdom. William Scott of Trinity, Benedictine monk and convert of another martyr, John Roberts. Edward Coleman, gentleman, who served the Catholic cause at court as secretary to the Duchess of York until he fell a victim to Titus Oates. William Andleby of St. John's, seminary priest, who owed his conversion to Cardinal Allen's prayers : who laboured in Yorkshire for twenty years as the "missionary of the poor," travelling on foot and visiting prisoners.

Such were some of these Cambridge men who followed in the glorious steps of their Cardinal, Perpetual Chancellor, whose watchful care has never failed his beloved university. Nor were such heroes of the Faith lacking in later times. So recently as 1850 a student of St. John's sacrificed degree and academic career because he refused the then obligatory Oath of Supremacy. And thus, suffering in the very same cause,

he gained the gift of faith, a vocation to the priesthood, as Father T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., and fame as the biographer of Blessed John Fisher.

We who are the heirs of these martyrs, see the Second Spring blossoming to-day. But it rests with us whether or no that spring shall ripen into a golden harvest for our successors to reap. When Catholic Emancipation dawned, slowly and surely, the torch handed on by the martyrs re-kindled sanctuary lamps in Cambridge, as elsewhere. First, the tiny light of the Irish mission founded in 1841. Then, nearly fifty years later, the glory of the parish church rose to proclaim the fame of the English martyrs in the university town. In 1887 the martyrs' work of witnessing to the Faith was taken up by the first Catholic organization in the University, now known as the Cambridge University Catholic Association; in 1896 a University Chaplain was appointed. Two years later the chaplaincy was independently established with a temporary chapel. Through various moves and vicissitudes we come down to this centenary year of Catholic Emancipation, with the chaplaincy a definite, if still too little known, part of the university life, now settled in Fisher House with its little temporary chapel. The ancient college chapels lie alienated and desolate, but the university Mass rises from that altar each day, even as when Blessed John Fisher himself offered it in the old church of St. Michael.

We indeed owe a great debt to our glorious martyrs; but our responsibility to them for the future is greater still. It is for us to make or mar their work. Catholic England or pagan England—one or the other is ours to build. And the means are the same as in their day. Prayer, penance, the eloquent example of Catholic daily life, Catholic principles practised in divers surroundings, loyalty to the authority of St. Peter, intelligent knowledge of our Faith, so that we may give an answer to others, virtue and learning hand in hand—these are the weapons which the martyrs have entrusted to us, now that they have won the good fight.

Devotion to the English Martyrs is our sure guide in the conflict of to-day. They are looking down upon us with burning interest, familiar with our difficulties, eager to help us, knowing, too, the depths of human weakness, and the might of that divine strength which is ours for the seeking. It is for us to crown their long labours with success, if we will.

NOEL MACDONALD WILBY.

THE MORTARA CASE

IF any of my readers happen to be octogenarians, they will just be old enough to remember the "Mortara Case"; for eighty is approximately the present age of the hero of that exciting incident, and it was when he was in his seventh year that he began to take an intelligent interest in the proceedings. Indeed, it was at that early age that he was called on to make a momentous decision.

Any Catholics likely to engage in controversy with Jews—and would that more were!—should be equipped with knowledge of this veritable *cause célèbre*, which created a considerable stir throughout Europe at the time and is thought by many to have contributed in its measure to the overthrow of the Temporal Power of the Popes. This consideration, in the light of the recent Accord between the Sovereign Pontiff and Italy, makes a review of the Mortara incident seasonable.

In a Jewish historical lecture, lately delivered by a very competent scholar, Dr. Cecil Roth, the thorny subject of Forced Baptisms in Spain was mentioned. In the main the lecturer handled his facts with marked impartiality, but on this point, not unnaturally, he gave some rein to his pent-up feelings. The incident gave rise to my writing him a friendly note, which, without consulting me, he published in the "Jewish Guardian," to which he is a frequent and valued contributor. This indiscretion gave me an entrée to that paper which would otherwise no doubt have been barred against me. Our controversy continued for about six weeks, beginning about last Christmas, and included an article by my opponent in which he raked up several discreditable examples of compulsory baptisms, covering a period of several centuries, but laid especial stress on the Mortara Case. My aim was to deprecate any general denunciation of Catholic intolerance until the facts of the Mortara baptism had been sufficiently cleared up. I found the task none too easy, as there are several different versions of the story, and the books of reference are disappointingly meagre in their treatment of it. Dr. Cecil Roth persisted in inveighing against the inhumanity of the papal procedure and refused to consider what we may call for the moment, in deference to his view, the extenuating circumstances. For attempting the defence, the apologist for the Pope was included in the condemnation,

and, perhaps naturally, the discussion was closed before he had vindicated himself. For all that the duel has furnished a useful object-lesson regarding Jewish mentality when confronted by the Catholic claim. Until Catholics establish more frequent and friendly contact with Jews and qualify to discuss with them the unpleasantnesses of the past, prejudice will continue to be strongly entrenched on either side. Honest, open warfare is much to be preferred to such artificial stabilization. So much by way of preface.

Edgaro Mortara was born at Bologna in the Papal States, of Jewish parents, on August 27, 1851, and is now an elderly monk at the monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, Bouhay, Bressous-les-Liège, Belgium. For our present purpose we may content ourselves with facts taken exclusively from two short articles written by him on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his adoption by Pio Nono (June 24, 1908) and of that of his priesthood in 1923. As shown in an article in the February *MONTH*,¹ the temporal rule of the Popes was almost invariably kindly to the dispersed Children of Israel. The Mortaras had broken an old-established papal law by having in their service a Christian girl—by name, Anna Morisi. There were several reasons for this legislation thus violated, and one of these undoubtedly was to prevent the possibility of complications such as ensued in this case. When one year old, Edgaro was stricken with a severe illness so that his life was almost despaired of. Jewish mothers yield to none in devotedness, so we are not surprised to hear that Madame Mortara kept watch over the sick child day and night. But during one short absence Anna snatches her opportunity and hastily but carefully performs the simple ceremony of baptism. Of this transaction Padre Pio writes in his notes : "Sa naïve simplicité atténuaît sa responsabilité" : her one desire was to send a soul to heaven. Contrary to all expectation the child recovered. Six years later, a younger brother also fell seriously ill and a neighbour urged her to baptize the little boy ; but she had worried so much about the former surreptitious baptism that she decided not to run so big a risk again, and it is in connection with this incident that she made up her mind to seek advice from her parish priest about Edgaro, now in his seventh year. In due course the Archbishop of Bologna was informed and in his turn referred the case to headquarters. Thereupon orders were issued for the transference of the boy to Rome, since his parents could not be

¹ "The Mediaeval Popes and the Jews," by the Rev. Francis Day, p. 116.

expected to regard the claims of his Faith. How the warrant was executed is uncertain and various accounts are extant—some dramatic enough, suggesting troops of horse-soldiers in the Bologna Ghetto. The parents were undoubtedly unwilling, so in order to arouse prejudice, it is always possible to say that the child was torn from the arms of his mother ! Dr. Roth, at any rate, says it.

For our part we feel it wiser to keep to facts that are well attested and that are involved in the progress of our story. A few days after the "kidnapping," as hostile critics styled it, the Pope received Edgardo with the utmost kindness and declared himself, as custom prescribed, the guardian of the Christian child. He was placed at the Institute of Neophytes at Santa Maria dei Monti, and Canon Sarra, Rector of that establishment, became responsible for his education. But during the remaining twenty years of the amiable and saintly pontiff's life, *i.e.*, until 1878, he watched over his ward with all the solicitude of a father. This is not to be wondered at, as Edgardo had indeed been "bought at a great price." As soon as the news of the removal of the young baptized Jew into the Pope's custody became generally known, a well-organized agitation was set on foot in Europe and America. For this was a moment in the history of the papacy when such a pretext for an outcry was specially prized in several quarters. Here was a point on which Protestants and Freemasons might combine with the riffraff of the revolutionary parties. The storm was indeed violent and the Holy Father faced it with serene determination. On one occasion he is reported to have uttered words to this effect : "The great ones and the little ones of the earth have striven together to snatch this soul from my keeping : my answer to all and each is 'Non possumus.' It is not in my power to part with him ; my conscience will not allow me to expose a soul to peril," and to his protégé he addressed the pathetic words that sound so sonorous in the original : "Oh, se tu sapessi quanto mi costi" ("If only you knew how much you have cost me").

With the approval of his Redemptorist confessor, the boy in his fifteenth year (1865) became a novice in the order of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, with whom he had come into contact at their little college near St. Peter ad Vincula. An early choice indeed, but not premature, for it is only fair to remember that, according to Jewish law, the thirteenth birthday marks a youth's majority in matters religious, makes him become a "Son of the Covenant" (Bar Mitzvah), and thereafter

responsible for his actions. In honour of his protector the youthful monk is henceforth known as Fra Pio. When in due course he took his vows, Padre Strozzi, the General of the Order aptly enough preached on the verse of Isaias (65:1) which is quoted by St. Paul (Romans 10:20): "I was found by those that did not seek me; I appeared to them that asked not after me." In 1870 when Rome was taken by Victor Immanuel and the temporal kingship of the Popes terminated for a time, Fra Pio was offered by the "liberators" every facility for returning to his family and resuming his former mode of life. This he resolutely declined to do. In his own reference to this crisis he tells us that, on first coming under the influence of the Pope, there was within him, to quote his own expression in his adopted language, "une explosion du sentiment chrétien" (a sudden development of the Christian consciousness) which took possession of him never to depart. In these jottings he speaks tenderly of his parents and sympathizes with them in their sorrow; but he remembers the saying of Our Lord: "I am not come to bring peace but the sword" and is determined not to yield to human affection. When pressed to return home his only answer was: "I am a Christian; if my parents will become Christians I will return home." And when his mother put forward the claims of his father to obedience, the boy answers: "Maman, le Pape est aussi mon père." He had a special devotion to the scapular, which he called his breastplate. At their last interview his mother, whose interest has been aroused in this object of devotion, asked him to give her one that she might wear it; but her husband not unnaturally objected. The latter died in 1871, his wife surviving him for twenty-four years. The reader will gladly comply with the son's request and say a prayer for the repose of their souls.

Fra Pio's next move was to a monastery of his Order in the Tyrol. Thence, as a result of a special recommendation from the Pope, he was invited by Mgr. Pie of Poitiers to join his religious brethren to whose care the sanctuary of N.D. de Beauchêne had recently been entrusted. On December 20, 1873, although under the canonical age, he was by special dispensation ordained priest. A natural gift for the pulpit made him an indefatigable preacher, but before long his strenuous efforts, on top of the years of close study, led to a breakdown which interrupted his apostolic labours for two years. The after-effect of this illness never completely disappeared; but, in spite of this physical handicap, Padre Pio

holds a fine record, both for good work in the Lord's Vineyard and for leading a most edifying life in the cloister. When in the early years his monastic home was broken up by an anti-clerical Government, he found a refuge with a pious family in Marseilles, where another serious illness put him, to use his own homely idiom, "within two fingers of death." During this sojourn in the famous sea-port he enjoyed the great privilege of a visit from the saintly Don Bosco, whose progress towards canonization the Catholic world is now watching with interest.

Such are the facts which may be gleaned from the most authentic source, the two scanty and all too modest auto-biographical brochures. Those of us who survive the good Father may look forward to a fuller justification of Pio Nono's spirited intervention in his behalf. For the present Dom Mortara's one preoccupation is to give thanks for the immense grace of his conversion and vocation, and, in singing his Magnificat he associates himself in a special manner with the Immaculate Virgin who, owing to the Definition (1854) and the Apparition at Lourdes (1858), was during the critical years of his boyhood so prominent in the Catholic firmament.

Books of reference credit Padre Mortara with a visit to America in the cause of converting his fellow-Jews. He certainly visited England, where he is well-remembered by some of the elder Sisters of Sion. The Jewish Encyclopædia states that he preached before the Vatican Council: if so this was at the early age of nineteen. That authority says that he entered the "Augustine" order and took Pius as his "convent name"—little slips that might easily have been corrected by any intelligent Catholic: but alas, it seldom, if ever, occurs to a Jew treating of our domestic affairs to seek guidance from members of the family. The same article states that shortly after his "abduction" he was paraded in the Roman Ghetto, with a view to annoying the inhabitants; and that some years later when his religious formation was more advanced, he was once or twice, being allowed some social intercourse with his kinsfolk, discovered partaking of frugal refreshments in "kosher" restaurants, enjoying again the dishes beloved in childhood. When the Mortara legend appears on the films this homely scene, redolent of peace and goodwill, is sure to be applauded! He attended one or two family funerals. The article further questions the seriousness of the illness that provided the excuse for the baptism. It has the honesty to record that a leading Jewish banker in Vienna

saw in the agitation the work of sinister political forces and issued a circular begging of Rabbis and other influential members of the community to discourage the movement. The Prince Regent of Prussia replied to a Jewish society that he was much in sympathy with their grievance but that he could not intercede in the case because as a Protestant his intercession would be misinterpreted. It frankly admits that the details of the case are not fully known. It ascribes to this "affaire" the first beginnings of the "Alliance Israelite Universelle."

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" says that this case occupied for several years the attention of European diplomacy. It asserts that the nurse had already baptized Edgardo's elder brother—an evident confusion—and that the hero of our tale was five or six at the time of his baptism. It credits the Mortara family with having induced the Italian Government—in as far as there was one in 1861—to demand the prosecution of the nurse. The Vatican replied that she had entered a nunnery and subsequently induced the family to withdraw their complaint. "Harmsworth's" has the following spicy bit: "Anna Morisi, a fanatical Roman Catholic maid-servant baptized E.M. . . . and fled with him to Rome. Although not guilty of the abduction, the Catholic Church authorities subsequently shielded Morisi. . . . He became a preacher of repute." "Chambers," by contenting itself with a very general statement, avoids such pitfalls. Before closing this short account of the case, it is worth noticing that Dr. Roth more than once speaks of the baptism of Edgardo as "a ridiculous travesty." Surely it should occur to anyone at all experienced in historical research that the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition is a fairly competent body which may be trusted to decide whether a clinical baptism has been correctly performed.

It is now high time to say a word or two about the moral aspects of the case. If an infant is in serious danger of death, theologians teach that it should be baptized even without the consent of the parents. The Catholic belief with regard to baptism explains and justifies this apparent overriding of parental rights: under such circumstances this sacrament is of eternal importance to the child, and to withhold it, when there is the opportunity of bestowing it, would be a violation of the law of charity. Under ordinary circumstances, all authorities are equally agreed that no child of infidel parents should be baptized, unless the parents approve. St. Thomas

plainly teaches that to do so would be a breach of the natural law. But what is to be done if an apparently dying child recovers? The case must be considered on its merits, for we are now in the region in which considerations of prudence and expediency hold sway. The pros and cons must be carefully weighed, the age of the child being evidently an important factor. Presently it will be shown that this procedure is also the traditional one in our British Law Courts. For the moment we will confine our attention to the decree of Benedict XIV. This great Pope (1740-1758) who is generally regarded as perhaps the most learned of the many learned men who have occupied the Chair of Peter, was also singularly humane and tolerant, beloved and admired by very many outside the Catholic fold, a man of the world as well as a man of God. That magnificent compilation the "Bullarium Romanorum Pontificum" devotes three volumes to the decrees and official correspondence of this eminent canonist, the second and third of which contain several important documents relating to the Jews. The index appended to each gives a short summary of a number of interesting points, handled in masterly style by this most accomplished pontiff. It is evident even on casual perusal that the Pope was seriously concerned with this department of his world-wide office and devoted to it deep thought and careful labour. He is anxious to correlate former decisions and to settle finally some questions that have been left hanging loose. He is well informed, and in discussing the laws regulating Jewish marriage and betrothal uses the technical terms in the original Hebrew. His treatment of every point is painstaking and illuminating. Although one readily detects that it is the work of a liberal-minded scholar, his instructions are framed with great respect for the legislation of his predecessors and the opinion of experts. He is no innovator and is disinclined to abolish old-fashioned rules of conduct until newer and better ones have arrived to take their place: it is thus that mediævalism—a relative term—should gradually melt into the modern. He would not wish to have Jews in his States unless there were some hope of converting them; but this must only be attempted by methods in keeping with the teaching and spirit of Christ. One of his letters—to the Bishops of Poland, 1751—would be unpleasant reading for Jews: the Children of Israel have multiplied exceedingly, acquired undue influence and are lording it over the simple peasantry, whilst moneylenders are extorting excessive interest from their victims. Whilst deprecating violence, he

prescribes suitable remedies. He is confident that the sources of his information are reliable and that the state of affairs in several provinces calls for drastic measures. To redress these undoubted evils, the Bishops must insist on the enforcement of the laws already in existence. As the Father of Christendom he cannot allow a Christian country to come under the domination of an alien and anti-Christian people.

But the point which immediately concerns us is the ruling as to the procedure in cases where baptism has been validly, but perhaps illicitly, administered to Hebrew infants. He lays it down as a general rule that all such are to be separated from their relations and educated in the Christian faith. The parents, even though they may make promises, cannot be trusted in such a matter to fulfil them. The injury done to them is not so great as that which would be done to the dying child if the sacrament which opens heaven were withheld. This is precisely the rule which the Inquisition followed in 1858 and Pio Nono refused to interfere. It is clear that such a rule cannot always be followed and that it was capable of more general application in the eighteenth than in the twentieth century : the Mortara Case came in the transition period. To those who do not share our theological beliefs it is sure to be a stumbling-block ; but they should endeavour to see the problem from our standpoint as far as may be in their power. Nor should it be so impossible for Jews to realize the importance we attach to baptism seeing that they, if at all orthodox, regard circumcision as a religious ordinance of the very first rank. It is true that their Encyclopaedia repudiates "any magical effects such as Catholics ascribe to their sacraments" ; but this statement is simply the result of that loose thinking which causes the Anglican Bishop of Birmingham so often to walk into that same trap. Once the word "magical" is defined it becomes apparent that it cannot be applied with any propriety to our sacramental system. "Supernatural" is the word that was wanted and we admit with regret that in that respect Judaism is on a distinctly lower level : but after all allowances have been made, it is still undeniable that this "seal of the Covenant" is held in high esteem. Quite recently, according to the *Jewish World*, a Rabbi in Russia circumcized his grandson against the express wish of the father. When brought before the magistrate he pleaded that it was his duty to do so and that this view was laid down in the classic manual of Jewish religious practice drawn up about 1570 by the famous Joseph Caro. He called witnesses to corroborate his

statement that the "Shulchan Aruk" (The Table Adorned) enjoined such conduct. It will also be remembered that the circumcizing of Gentile slaves was one of the reasons why Canon Law forbade Jewish masters to employ Christian servants. Forced baptism had its counterpart on a small scale on the other side.

Pius IX., who enforced the enactment of his predecessor enjoys even amongst Popes the reputation of having been the friend of his Jewish subjects. At the opening of his long reign he released them from their disabilities and throughout the thirty-two years showed them many signs of kindness and of consideration. All his biographers relate his personal attentions to a Jewish sufferer from the cholera, and several similar anecdotes are told on good authority; such incidents should not be altogether overlooked when the Mortara Case is discussed. If all the facts were available, it is not unlikely that the ecclesiastics concerned would show up more favourably than their critics suppose. At any rate the case turned out happily as far as the "victim" is concerned. He still blesses the day when the saintly Pontiff took him to his heart.

As a final word on this aspect of our subject, it is due to the memory of Benedict XIV. to add that he explicitly enjoined that the one who conferred baptism illicitly, even though this were done in all innocence, should be suitably punished.

Let us now see how our English courts have acted in cases that are analogous. The *Dublin Review* (March, 1859) in a timely and scholarly article provided abundant evidence on this point. By a fortunate coincidence several such cases had, about the same date, occupied the attention of our Chancery Judges. It is a matter of general knowledge that Lord Eldon as Chancellor had deprived Shelley, on account of his deism, of the custody of his children. The guardianship which a father has of his children is a trust which may not be capriciously exercised: the Crown as "parens patriae" is the sovereign guardian of all the children in the realm. In the case of Alicia Race, Vice-Chancellor Kindersley, although the Court of King's Bench had solemnly adjudged that, by the law of the land, the child ought to be in the mother's custody, took the child away and gave her into the care of strangers, and this although the father had distinctly in his last will confided the child to her care. To quote from the article: "We never can forget the efforts which were made to wrest little Alicia from her mother; the agitation, the subscriptions, the colourable endowment,

and all for what? To enable the Vice-Chancellor to say, 'I am supreme and sovereign guardian of the child and I say that it is for her benefit that she should not be with her Catholic mother, but with strangers.' It hardly seems credible that the very men who agitated and subscribed to secure this result should have come forward and raised a cry against the Holy Father for taking a Christian child from a Jewish parent, in order to its being brought up a Christian. Yet so it is. Such is the unscrupulous inconsistency of bigotry." May we not style this, in modern slang, a veritable "scream"? The staunch Bible Christians who rescued Alicia from the toils of Popery argued vehemently that a child of seven should be free to leave her mother to become a Protestant; and such was their lack of humour that, as Lord Campbell testifies, they dared to quote the text: "Suffer little children to come unto Me."

This spirit, expressing itself in reckless denunciation, is less readily aroused than it was half a century ago; but even now, after fifty years of general education, it is not easy to find human beings prepared to think out religious problems in an unbiased frame of mind. The scientist still gives most of us a good lead in this respect. Although the mysteries of faith strictly so called baffle our finite intellects, there is an immense amount of matter in the Catholic religious system that, having been thought out with almost superhuman thoroughness, lends itself admirably to discussion on scientific lines. It is still true to say that most of our critics enter on debate in far less perfect dispositions. Slovenliness of thought is frequent in such encounters and prejudice is seldom eliminated. The Biblical prohibition of the use of double weights and measures is specially liable to be set aside when Popes and Roman Congregations incur public disapproval. Naturally Protestants—there are still some left—are the chief offenders, but in the Mortara Case, as was to be expected, the Jews were first in the field; indeed this was inevitable and up to a point right and proper; but it is not in accordance with their grand and primeval tradition of justice and fair play that the controversy should be reopened unless there is a bona fide intention that all concerned shall be equitably treated. However it would be over-sanguine to expect this, unless we on our side set good example and give due encouragement to such high virtue.

A. F. DAY.

CHANGELINGS

THE belief that infants are liable to be stolen by fairies appears universally in legends of the "little folk," but, although the superstition is not confined to Europe it is certainly strongest there, especially in the north-west. There are traces of it, however, in China and North America; in India, directions for the preservation of children against the ravages of fiends and demons are found in the Parsee Sad Dar; it occurs also in Classical, Egyptian and Babylonian mythology: in the last case the children are stolen by a strange, female figure known as the Labartu—a denizen of mountains and marshes.

It is chiefly to Europe, however, where belief in changelings is held by uneducated Catholics and Protestants alike, that we wish to devote our attention, and the first question which naturally arises is that of motive. Why should the inhabitants of Fairyland be supposed to seek to kidnap human babies, leaving in their stead either one of their own brats or a log resembling the stolen infant? It would appear that life in Fairyland is not so widely different from our own. "Ils naquent, ils souffrent, ils mourrurent." But in some way it is thought that the fairy race needs revitalizing by intercourse with mortals; other theories have been put forward more in accord with the reputation of the "*good* people," but the selfish object seems the most general.¹

Where there is belief in these preternatural substitutions, a variety of precautions, differing in detail according to the manners and customs of the countries in which they are practised, have been adopted. Of them all, Christian baptism is considered the most efficacious: unchristened infants being regarded as particularly prone to attack. Italian superstition not only dreads changelings but believes that witches may lacerate the faces of the unbaptized and in Sicily the hands of such children are said to be used in witch-brews. In Sicily, or again, in Spain, it is considered unlucky to embrace unbaptized babes, who are sometimes called Jews, Moors, Turks or "Drakos," *i.e.*, serpents. A superstition is also current that a child who does not cry whilst being baptized will not live. In some parts of Scotland to-day it is said that the newly-baptized

¹ In the Romance of Thomas the Rhymer it is suggested that the human victim is the fee paid by the underground folk to the devil in return for the power he grants them.

child after its return from church is moved rapidly to and fro over a flame whilst the following words are repeated three times : "Let the flame consume thee now or never."

There is frequent mention of changelings in English literature, especially the Elizabethan period. A passage from Drayton, who, incidentally, one feels has never really had his due as a poet and who indubitably wrote the best fairy poetry in the language—Shakespeare alone excepted—is well worth quoting. It is to be found in his *Nymphidia* :—

These when a child haps to be got
 Which after proves an idiot
 When folk perceive it thriveth not,
 The fault therein to smother,
 Some silly, doting brainless calf,
 That understands things by the half,
 Say that the Fairy left this aulfe
 And took away the other.

The use of fire as a protection against the raids of the trolls is widespread. In the Western Islands fire is carried round lying-in women before they are churched and in Mecklenburg a naked light burning in the room is deemed sufficient protection for the child. To simulate fire, in Sweden the swaddling-wrap is often bright red in colour, and in Scotland a seven-knotted cord, suspended round the child's neck, is of a vivid scarlet. It cannot be deduced from this that red is a colour necessarily disliked by preternatural beings. The god Set is said to show a marked preference for abducting *red-haired* infants in Europe, whilst in Russia red hair is thought to confer skill in magic. The dragons and cacodemons that threatened Zoroaster at his birth were repelled by fire. The motive for attacks on women is supposed to be the elves' desire to obtain human milk for their own children. St. Augustine refers to supposed injuries of pregnant women at the hands of the god Sylvanus, quoting the then popular precaution that three men should pass round the house at night armed with pestle, hatchet and brush, the threshold being struck during the process and the steps swept.¹ The tradition evidently amused the saint.

Besides baptism, numerous other precautions existed. In Scotland an open Bible or prayer-book or a page from either was favoured. These were placed in the cradle or on the pillow of the women. Utterance of the Holy Name, the invocation of a saint, the recital of a Paternoster or an Ave are

¹ "De Civ. Dei," I., vi. c. 9.

further recognized remedies ; in Picardy a blessed Rosary is often used and in Ireland holy water and the sign of the cross. If none of these is employed, the mother may bless herself and the child at the psychological moment, and all will be well. Webster gives an instance of a witch carrying off an unblessed baby *when it sneezed*, the sneeze, of course, plays an important rôle in magic. In Denmark, salt, bread and garlic are placed in the cradle. Bread as a charm is mentioned by Herrick in his *Hesperides* :—

Bring the holy crust of bread,
Lay it underneath the head ;
'Tis a certain charm to keep
Hags away while children sleep.

German folk resort, among many others, to botanical nostrums : marjoram and black cumin (the latter is highly aromatic) being placed in close proximity to the child. In certain parts of Italy the following practice is customary :—A candle or rush light is kept burning in the room ; the statue of a saint, from which hangs a Rosary and a reticulated cloth, is then fastened over the door, whilst just inside the room itself is placed a large vessel filled with salt. Near this is laid a besom with many twigs. Therefore, should the witch remain undeterred by the Christian emblems, the frightful combination of salt, network, and twigs will prove too much for her ; for these preternatural creatures are themselves highly superstitious and are invariably the victims of arithmomania. The witch-thief, on entering the chamber, must perforse count—for fear of bad luck—first, the grains of salt, then the meshes of the cloth, and finally the twigs of the broom : an occupation that will last till cockcrow when a hasty retreat must be made with her object unattained ! Several of the charms we have mentioned are again recorded by Herrick :—

Holy water come and bring ;
Cast in salt for seasoning :
Set the brush for sprinkling.
Sacred spittle bring ye hither ;
Meale and it now mix together ;
And a little oyle to either :
Give the tapers here their light,
Ring the saints-bells to affright
Far from hence the evil sprite.

The abhorrence manifested by all preternatural beings for iron and steel naturally results in knives, keys, tongs, sickles and scissors being employed to advantage as a protection against them.

Let the superstitious wife
 Near the child's heart lay a knife :
 Point be up and haft be down,
 (While she gossips in the towne ;)
 This 'mong other mystic charms
 Keeps the sleeping child from harms.

This traditional abhorrence may be found in the myths of every country in the world. In Oriental mythology the much-dreaded Jinn are believed to travel in a whirlwind (Zoba'ah) of sand and the Arabs shout, "Iron ! Iron !" ("Hadeed ! Hadeed !") as they pass.

The supposed changelings could usually be detected by their physical shortcomings. They always had enormous heads and thick necks ; unless engaged in some piece of satanic *espièglerie* they seldom smiled or laughed, and all were very greedy. Of course, many children to whom fairy origin was ascribed were but the victims of disease. Whenever doubts were entertained, people would try to make the changeling betray itself either by speech or action. Sometimes it was considered enough to make the imp laugh. Numerous stories have been collected in evidence, many of which are highly dramatic and rich in humour, but we have room only for a few.

A young Mecklenburg mother was suspicious of her child. At two years of age its body was terribly stunted but its head was as big as a pumpkin. Accordingly she sought the advice of an old man skilled in such matters, who gave her a charm which he declared infallible. That night, by the flickering light of the kitchen fire, the monstrous-headed child watched her fill an empty egg-shell with new beer and ferment it with yeast. Suddenly the brat was heard to exclaim :—

I am as old
 As Bohemian gold,¹
 Yet for the first time now I see
 Beer in an egg-shell brew'd to be.

That night the parents decided to throw the creature into the river ; but when they stealthily approached the cradle at midnight to carry out their intention they beheld a strong, healthy child sleeping in its place. Stories illustrating a similar use of the egg-shell come from Ireland, Brittany and France. In each case the object is to excite in the elf curiosity, merriment

¹ *Bohmer Gold* a corruption of *Bohmer Woelt* (Bohemian Forest). This phrase occurs in several tales and is a reference to some wood, well known to those listening. A Lithuanian imp says : "I am so old, I was already in the world before the Kamschtschen Wood was planted, wherein great trees grew, and *that* is now laid waste again ; but anything so wonderful I have never seen."

or wonder so that self-betrayal may result. When the elf has made its identity known, it either vanishes at once, or when threatened by the parents or others. Sometimes the fairies come and remove it themselves, bringing the stolen child with them.

The following story is told by Luther, who, like others of his time but not of his faith, believed in witches and changelings. In Saxon Halberstadt there once lived a pious peasant who feared that his child was a killcrop.¹ The parish priest advised him to take the babe to be rocked at the shrine of Our Lady of Halberstadt. This the peasant resolved to do; but on the way, whilst crossing a river, another devil called out from its depths: "Killcrop! Killcrop! Where are you going?" The child replied: "Ho! Ho! I am going to our Loving Mother at Halberstadt, to be rocked!" This conversation so terrified the poor man that he threw the child into the water and the two devils vanished with loud laughter.

Breton children are placed under the care of Our Lady and rosaries and scapulars are suspended from their necks to protect them from the *Korrigan*, as the fairies are called in those parts.² In Brittany the latter are held to be descended from princesses who refused to listen to the Apostles when they preached in Armorica and so became accursed. Hence they have a violent antipathy to religion and the clergy; they dread the sight of a *soutane* and abhor the sound of a bell; but they reserve their greatest hatred for the Blessed Virgin. A woman of Brézal, inflicted with a changeling, prays to the Holy Mother, who advises her to prepare a meal for ten in a single egg-shell: this will make him speak. She is then to administer a severe whipping during the course of which the Korrid will vanish. All comes to pass as Our Lady foretells and during the castigation a fairy appears, saying: "Don't whip him, give him back to me; I have not harmed yours. He is king in our country." When the mother goes to the cradle she finds her own child there, who says: "Ah, mother, how long I have slept!"

Besides children adults were sometimes abducted and, as we have observed, human milk was usually the motive. In such cases, a block of wood carved in the victim's likeness is left behind. In most stories the husband is the rescuer, though sometimes others effect it.

¹ The name by which changelings were then known.

² Breton Fairies are divided, according to some authorities, into two classes—the Fays (Fées) and the Dwarfs (Nains). The Breton equivalents are Korrig or Korrigan and Korr or Korrid respectively.

On rare occasions the legends tell of a journey to Fairyland having to be made to bring back the person held in thrall by the underground folk. Naturally such a feat was considered difficult and dangerous, but it was sometimes successfully accomplished. In a story from Islay, a father whose fourteen-year-old son had been stolen, found a hole in the side of the hill under which the fairies lived; through this he entered, first taking the precaution of placing a naked dirk across the threshold. In one hand he carried a cock and in the other a Bible. When the elves burst into loud laughter and shouts at his demand for the boy's freedom, the cacophony alarmed the cock, which crowed lustily. Everything immediately became dark and father and son found themselves safe and sound outside the hill.

Sir Walter Scott refers to the story of a Lothian peasant whose wife was carried off by the fairies but who returned for a short time on Sundays to attend to her children; she informed her husband that he could effect her rescue by seizing her on Hallowe'en when she passed by in a fairy procession. His courage failed him, however, at the critical moment and she was lost to him for ever.

The growth of true knowledge, whether derived from religion or science, naturally lessens the area of superstition, and the fairies, in spite of Sir A. Conan Doyle's photographs, are no more. Yet there seems to be not a little evidence which points to the existence of preternatural agencies quite as mischievous but not as picturesque as fairies.

R. L. SEDGWICK.

THE "CHURCHING" OF OUR BLESSED LADY

II

ON February 2nd, the fortieth day after Christmas, Our Lady is honoured by a feast which in the Roman Calendar bears the title of "the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary." It is only in comparatively recent years that we have learnt how early this celebration took its rise. A discovery made at Arezzo in 1887 revealed the existence of a hitherto unknown description of the ceremonial observed at Jerusalem, apparently in the last decade of the fourth century. It is now generally agreed that the author of this tractate was a certain Abbess Etheria, who leaving her convent in the north-west of Spain undertook a long pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and wrote on her return a detailed account of her experiences. In the course of this narrative we learn how the feast of the Nativity of Our Lord, which was then throughout the East kept with the Epiphany on January 6th, was specially honoured at Jerusalem in the Church of the Anastasis. Etheria adds details about the ceremonies, which continued during the octave, and then she goes on :—

The fortieth day after the Epiphany is undoubtedly celebrated here with the very highest honour, for on that day there is a procession, in which all take part in the Anastasis, and all things are done in their order with the greatest joy, just as at Easter. All the priests, and after them the bishop, preach, always taking for their subject that part of the Gospel where Joseph and Mary brought the Lord into the Temple on the fortieth day, and Simeon and Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, saw Him—treating of the words which they spake when they saw the Lord, and of that offering which His parents made.¹

The old Armenian lectionary dating from the end of the eighth century, likewise assigns this celebration to the middle of February (*i.e.*, the 14th or 15th) and describes it simply as "the Quadragesima of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ." This lectionary is confessedly dependent upon the usage of Jerusalem,² and there seems every probability that it was from

¹ See McClure and Feltoe, "The Pilgrimage of Etheria," p. 56.

² Conybeare, "Rituale Armenorum," pp. 507 seq. and 518.

Jerusalem that the observance of the feast spread through the Eastern world. Somewhere about the year 540, and possibly much earlier, we find it introduced at Ephesus under the name which it commonly bore among the Greeks, *viz.*, the "Hypapante" (*i.e.*, the "meeting" with Simeon and Anna), and we possess a homily which Bishop Abramius delivered there on the occasion of the festival.¹ Further it appears from one of the discourses of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, who was expelled in 518, that some little time before this sermon was delivered, the feast had been introduced into Constantinople. It was, he said, already familiar in Jerusalem and throughout the whole of Palestine, and from thence was adopted in a spirit of emulation by the Church of Constantinople.² Again there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the homily of Theodosius († c. 445), Bishop of Ancyra in Asia Minor, which bears the title "On the Holy Mother of God and on Simeon." This discourse must clearly have been delivered at some public celebration of the Hypapante feast, for the bishop incidentally remarks:—

Most fittingly, beloved brethren, have you thronged hither on this day both that you may pay honour to the divine mysteries and that you may give heed to the thoughts set out before us in the Holy Scripture, how a Virgin, forsooth, beyond nature and by God's contrivance carries in her innocent arms Him who upholds all things by the word of His power, how the priest stricken in years comes eagerly to take from her the long-expected High Priest and his Lord, and how the aged prophetess

¹ The only two surviving sermons of Bishop Abramius have been edited by M. Krascheninnikov and again by the Assumptionist Father, Martin Jugie. The edition of the former is printed in the *Transactions of the University of Dorpat*, that of the latter, which originally appeared in the "Byzantinische Zeitschrift," may be most conveniently consulted in the "Patrologia Orientalis," Vol. XVI., pp. 429 seq. The two editors differ markedly upon the question of the identity and date of Abramius. The Dorpat professor (p. xxxiii.) believes him to have occupied the See of Ephesus for a short space about the year 500, while Père Jugie would put his episcopate 40 or 50 years later. There would seem, however, to be no reason to doubt that this "Sermon of our holy Father Abramius, Bishop of Ephesus, upon the Feast of the Hypapante" belongs to the first half of the sixth century. On the other hand, Père Jugie is probably right in suspecting that the long encomiastic paragraph which concludes the discourse and which describes the Blessed Virgin as "the Treasure of benediction, the joy of the world, the vine which produced the grape-cluster of life . . . more honourable than the Cherubim, more glorious than the Seraphim, etc. etc." is a later interpolation. To judge, however, from the careful collation of M. Krascheninnikov, this peroration is found in all the MSS. (except T., which is mutilated) as well as in the old Slavonic translation. See his text and notes, pp. 26—28.

² See Rhamani, "Studia Syriaca," III., pp. 73—138.

at last receives Him who had so long been the object of her prophecies.¹

It is curious that Theodosius, as Père Jugie points out, uses language which at first sight seems inconsistent with a belief in Our Lady's complete stainlessness, though in another discourse he declares her immaculate and free from the taint of sin. But, no doubt, when he compares the ever blessed Virgin to a piece of iron which when it is tarnished or rusted is thrust into the fire and there puts on the nature of fire so that it is itself enabled to kindle and to burn, he is insisting on the positive rather than the negative aspect of his metaphor. In other respects this early sermon on the Hypapante, whatever test we apply, offers every mark of genuineness.²

From these allusions and others that might be added we may safely conclude that the Greek historians who attribute the introduction of the feast to the Emperor Justin (518-527) or to Justinian (527-565), are not to be trusted. Theophanes states that in gratitude for the cessation of a plague which had devastated the Eastern capital the latter Emperor had enjoined the celebration of the Hypapante throughout his dominions.³ Very probably its observance up to this time had only been fitful and local, whereas the decree of Justinian made it everywhere a matter of obligation. It should be remembered further that in the East, as was also at first the case in Western Europe, this celebration cannot exactly be claimed as a festival of Our Lady. It was the Gospel incident which was commemorated, and the Blessed Virgin's part was subordinate to that of her Son.

It is rather surprising to find that from an early date, at any rate from the fifth century, there seems good evidence of the existence in Palestine of a procession with lights, or rather with candles, (*μετὰ κηρίων*) on the occasion of the feast of the Hypapante. In the Life of the Abbot Theodosius by Cyril of Scythopolis there is definite mention of the practice,⁴ and this allusion does not stand quite alone. The fact suggests at least the possibility that some Eastern influence may have

¹ Migne P.G., Vol. LXVII., p. 1400.

² Jugie in "Patrologia Orientalis," Vol. XIX., p. 292.

³ See Theophanes, "Chronographia," ad ann. 534, and cf. Nicephorus Callistus, "Hist. Eccles." XVII., 28.

⁴ See Usener, "Der heilige Theodosios," p. 106 and cf. Usener, "Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen," I., pp. 302 and 332 seq. It seems highly probable that candles were already used in the procession described by Etheria, for it probably took place at a very early hour. Twice over on occasion of other night processions she mentions that "two hundred church candles are provided for the use of the people."

introduced the custom to Rome and thence to other churches in the West, but to this question it will be necessary to return later on.

With regard to the origin of the ceremonial now observed on Candlemas Day, *la Chandeleur* as the French term it, an important article by Dom D. De Bruyne in the "Revue Bénédictine" has thrown much light on a perplexing problem. He calls attention to the fact that in our present rite two separate elements must be carefully distinguished. The Mass and Office have no necessary connection with the blessing of candles and the subsequent procession. As he points out, the procession is unalterably attached to the 2nd of February, whereas the feast may be transferred. The same rule holds good in the case of the "Litaniae Majores" on April 25th, the feast of St. Mark, and here we know quite definitely that while the Christian procession of the Litaniae dates from before the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great and replaced the old pagan procession of the Robigalia, observed from time immemorial in Rome on that same day,¹ the feast of St. Mark was of altogether later introduction and was unknown in the early Roman calendar. Furthermore the procession of Candlemas is a penitential procession. To this day the priest who presides wears a purple cope, and in former ages at Rome the Pope, instead of riding, went bare-foot, and he and his deacons wore black vestments. In the *Liber Pontificalis*, which offers the nearest approach to an official chronicle of the Popes, we have an incidental reference to the Candlemas procession, associating it with the pontificate of Pope Sergius (687-701). "He appointed," we are told, "that on the day of our Lord's Annunciation, and on those of the Falling-asleep and the Nativity of the holy Mother of

¹ It may be well to recall the fact that the word *litanies* (*λιτανίαι*, literally supplications) in the time of St. Gregory the Great and long afterwards was primarily associated with the idea of a procession, generally a penitential procession. Such religious processions were very familiar to the Roman populace in pagan days. From the earliest period both in Rome and throughout the rest of Italy whenever the city, army, crops or herds seemed to be threatened by evil influences, recourse was had to a "lustratio." This lustration consisted in a procession which went round the object to be purified or protected, leading with it the victims which were afterwards to be slaughtered, and stopping at certain well-marked stations for prayer and sacrifice. The particular lustration called the "Robigalia," on April 25th, had for its object, at least originally, the protection of the growing crops from *robigo* or *rubigo* i.e. blight. It had begun no doubt in times when cultivated areas were still found in the heart of Rome, but the custom was retained, following always a traditional route, even when Rome had become a great city and the original purpose of the ceremony had been lost sight of. To eradicate such popular celebrations is next to impossible, and when the people accepted Christianity, the Popes and their clergy acted wisely in converting the lustration into a Christian procession which followed the same well-known route and chanted invocations and responses closely corresponding to those now found in our Litany of the Saints.

God, Mary ever Virgin, and on that of Simeon, which the Greeks call Hypapante, the procession should start from St. Hadrian's, and the people assemble to meet it at St. Mary Major's." Clearly it does not follow from this that the procession in all the four cases mentioned was necessarily an innovation. It might well be that Sergius had done no more than prescribe a certain uniformity of procedure on the four occasions referred to. There is good evidence that some of these feasts, more especially the Assumption and the Hypapante were kept at an earlier date.¹ If we can trust the Antiphonary of Pamelius the procession itself on February 2nd must have been known in Rome before the time of Pope Sergius.

The earliest writer to offer any theory as to the origin of this Candlemas procession is the Venerable Bede. In his "De Temporum Ratione" written about the year 721, Bede says :

Numa dedicated the second month of the year to Februus, *i.e.*, Pluto, who was believed to preside over lustrations, and it was necessary that the lustration should take place in that month in which he appointed that their due rights should be paid to the Dii Manes.² But the Christian religion has very properly given another shape to this customary lustration, seeing that in this same month, on the feast of Holy Mary, the whole population, with priests and servers and hymns sung in harmony, makes the round of the churches and those parts of the city that are fitting, while all carry in their hands lighted candles which they have received from the Pontiff. This excellent custom has spread and the people have learnt to extend this observance to the other festivals of the same blessed Mother and Virgin, not indeed as a quinquennial lustration of an earthly dominion but as an annual (*perennem*) reminder of the kingdom of heaven.

This passage of Bede, which has been copied by certain liturgical writers who lived a century or so after his time, must be studied in connection with another text discovered by Dom De Bruyne in a manuscript of the tenth century. This is a sermon of unknown authorship which may quite possibly be older than Bede and which clearly is not directly borrowed from him. The sermon is concerned with the Rog-

¹ See *e.g.*, "Revue Bénédictine." Vol. XXVIII., pp. 301, 313, 323.

² It is perhaps worth noticing that this first sentence is a textual quotation from Macrobius "Saturnalia," Lib. I., ch. 13.

tion days and also with the Candlemas procession. With regard to the latter in particular, we read:—

Hence these rogational ceremonies were devised by men of old to pray for the fertility of the fields. Among these occasions two were reputed by them to be of special solemnity which they designated the *amburbale* and the *arvambale* (*sic*). The *amburbale* was so called from its going round the city; for they made such a circuit round their towns purifying (*lustrantes*) them with certain rites of their own, such as were customary in paganism. And this they did to make supplication for peace every five years. This observance we have converted into an annual one in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary on February 2nd. The *arvambale* took place every year and it derived its name from making the circuit of the fields to ensure their fertility, as has been explained.¹

Although the evidence is slight, there is evidence from non-Christian sources of the existence of this *amburbale*, and it is recognized by such authorities on classical antiquities as G. Wissowa and W. Warde Fowler, though they prefer to call it the *amburbium*.² Furthermore John Beleth in his "Rationale divinorum officiorum" (c. 81), Pope Innocent III. (Sermo 12), and Durandus the liturgist in his "Rationale" (vii. 7), all mention the word *amburbale* which evidently cannot have been obtained from Bede, who does not give it. I must confess I am not satisfied that in the primitive Roman procession of the *amburbium* candles and torches were used. Bede does not say so, neither does the author of the homily which Dom De Bruyne has printed. If Beleth, Innocent III. and Durandus assume that this feature was part of the pagan rite, this is probably only an inference of theirs founded on the presumption that the external observances which marked the Christian practice would have existed in what they regarded as its prototype.

One very serious difficulty which stands in the way of our regarding the Candlemas procession as the direct representative of the pagan *amburbium* is the fact that no trace is to be found of the latter in the Roman calendars of the Empire. Mommsen's elaborate study of the fragmentary calendars

¹ "Revue Bénédictine." Vol. XXXIV. (1922), p. 15.

² See e.g., G. Wissowa, "Religion und Kultur der Römer." 2nd Edit., p. 142: "bei dem Feste des Amburbiums zu Anfang des Februar"; and Fowler, "The illustration of the host tended to disappear altogether like the 'Ambarvalia' and perhaps the 'Amburbium'." "Religious experiences of the Roman People," p. 218.

which are still preserved to us shows that they are absolutely silent on the point. The word does not occur in his elaborate and most accurate index.¹ G. Wissowa contends that this omission may be due to the fact that the *amburbiūm* was not "ein ständiges Fest des 2 Februar." It was in his view attached to no particular date but was kept on some convenient day at the beginning of that month.² On the other hand there is really no contemporary evidence at all to show that the *amburbiūm* was an institution which lasted on into Christian times. In this it presents a marked contrast to the Lupercalia. This latter festival was a fertility rite of high antiquity which was also presented as a symbolical purification of the land. Goats and dogs were sacrificed and afterwards the priests, called Luperci, cutting up the skins of the victims into thongs, ran naked through the city, striking every one they met, especially women, who put themselves in their way if they desired to have children. Despite the glaring paganism of this celebration it continued for centuries. Not only are the Lupercalia marked on the 15th in every calendar which contains the month of February, but they are frequently spoken of and denounced by Christian writers. Pope Gelasius in A.D. 494 made a strenuous effort to suppress this abuse, but his attempt was the occasion of serious friction with certain members of the Roman Senate.³ To me it seems incredible that if the Popes were bent upon providing a substitute for rites which were offensive to Christian sensibilities, the obscure and comparatively unobjectionable *amburbiūm* of which we know so little should have been selected for a vigorous protest, while the Lupercalia were apparently ignored. I should be much more disposed to believe that the plan of eliminating pagan abuses by providing an innocent Christian demonstration in their place, was directed first against such scenes of licence and disorder as the Lupercalia. It may be then that this attempt took the form of deliberately borrowing from the East the ceremony of the "Quadragesima de Epiphania" with its procession and lights, precisely because it fell upon the 14th or 15th of February and thus coincided with the objectionable pagan celebration which it was desired to suppress. At a later period when the Hypapante began to be observed liturgically with Mass and Office as a feast of the Blessed Virgin, the inconsistency of keeping the birth of Christ on December

¹ See the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum." Vol. I. 2nd Edit.

² Wissowa, "Religion und Kultur der Römer." 2nd Edit., p. 143 n.

³ See H. Usener's essay on "Das Verhältniss des römischen Senats zur Kirche" in his "Kleine Schriften." Vol. IV., p. 150.

25th and the meeting with Simeon on February 15th would have forced itself insistently upon their notice. Thus the candle procession, the memory of the Lupercalia having by this time grown faint, was probably transferred to the Purification of Our Lady on February 2nd to which it properly belonged.

There are two or three considerations which seem to me to point to this conclusion. In the first place the earliest mention of a procession with candles comes to us, as has already been pointed out, from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and that as early as about 440 A.D. Secondly we cannot ignore the significance of the fact that the earliest references to the Roman celebration speak of it either as the Hypapante (its Greek title) or as the feast of St. Simeon. It is as the "Natale S. Simeonis" that it is entered in the calendar of St. Willibrord as also in the Antiphonary of Pamelius, and we find both names already spoken of in the "Liber Pontificalis" under Pope Sergius. Thirdly we now know for certain, thanks to the researches of Dom H. Peillon, that the chants which still stand in the Roman Antiphonary and which are sung in the Candlemas procession are taken bodily from Greek liturgical sources. In the manuscript which Dom Peillon has identified as that principally employed by Pamelius for his edition of the Antiphonary the anthems "Ave gratia plena" and "Adorna Thalamum tuum Sion" are written both in Latin and also in Greek with Latin characters. I quote the latter anthem only :

Chathocosmy so :

thon inphona su sion :
caeipodexeton basileon xpon :
aspase thy n marian :
thy ne puranion phlyn :
authy bastazi :
thon basileon thy doxi :
nephili photos :
yparchy parthena :
ferusa en chersin :
yon proeosforu :
ollabon symeon :
en anchales autu :
ekyrixen lais :
despotyn authon ene :
zoisce thanatu :
caeso thyran tu chosmu :

Adorna :

thalamum tuum sion :
et suscipe regem xpm :
amplectere mariam :
quæ est celestis porta :
ipsa enim portat :
regem gloriæ :
novi luminis :
subsistit virgo :
adducens in manibus :
filium ante luciferum :
quem accipiens symeon :
in ulnis suis :
predicavit populis :
dominum eum esse
vitæ et mortis :
et salvatorem mundi.¹

¹ See "Revue Bénédictine" Oct. 1912, Vol. XXIX, p. 433. The MS. from which the whole of this is copied (10127—10144 of the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels) seems to have been written about the year 800.

Anyone who opens his Missal will find that the Latin on the right hand of the page above reproduces pretty closely the first anthem which is there provided for the Candlemas procession. The Greek, written phonetically and with some obvious blunders on the left hand side, may equally be found to this day in the service books of the Orthodox Church. It is the first "apostichon" in the Vespers of the Hypapante. The reader who may wish to decipher it must be reminded that at that date, as in modern Greek, *ει*, *οι*, *η*, *ι* and *υ* were all pronounced alike and were transliterated in Latin as *i* or *y*. Similarly *ε* and *αι* were not distinguished in pronunciation and appear as *e* or *ae*; neither does the Latin ear appear to have noted any difference between *θ* and *τ*. Naturally enough also the phonetic transcriber often heard imperfectly or separated the words wrongly; thus the first three lines stand for *Κατακόσμησον τὸν νυμφῶνά σου Σιὰν καὶ ὑπόδεξαι τὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν*, and "thy ne puranion phylyn" represents *τὴν ἐπονράνιον πύλην*. So again the last clause is in the Greek *ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ Σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου*.

There can be little doubt that Dom Peillon is justified in regarding this manuscript as a copy of an earlier document which preserves for us with substantial fidelity the usage of the Roman Church in the second half of the eighth century. I must content myself with referring to his article for fuller proof, and meanwhile I venture to set down briefly the conclusions to which this study has led me.

1. The celebration of Our Lady's "Churching" undoubtedly began in Jerusalem about the fourth century and was marked by a procession with torches or candles on the "Quadragesima de Epiphania," Feb. 15th.
2. The observance in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries spread throughout the Eastern Church.
3. While still attached to Feb. 15th the procession—but the procession alone without the Mass and Office—was adopted at Rome to supply a Christian substitute for the Lupercalia.
4. When the "Purification" of the Blessed Virgin Mary came to be honoured in the West as an element in the Christmas cycle, the procession of the Hypapante, or feast of St. Simeon, was transferred to its proper day, Feb. 2nd, forty days after the Nativity, which was kept in Rome on Dec. 25th.

5. The Venerable Bede, though probably acquainted with what had been said by certain writers about the "ambur-bium," deliberately refrained from making reference to it. He was satisfied that the February procession took the place of some kind of pagan lustration. He knew also that the Lupercalia had lasted on far into Christian times and that the "Iustum" represented a period of five years, but because exact information was not available he was intentionally vague in the statement which he made.

Finally it may be noticed that there is no reason to connect the observances of February 2nd with the Spanish Church, as has been suggested by the author of the article on "Candlemas" in the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics." The data supplied by Dom Férotin show plainly that in the Mozarabic ritual there is practically speaking no trace of such a celebration until the eleventh century.¹

HERBERT THURSTON.

¹ See Férotin, "Liber Ordinum," p. 454, note.

PLAYING THE GAME

THE quadrangle basked peacefully in the glow of an early June evening. There was a hush and tranquillity very grateful to the soul of the latest bedeswoman who stepped out of her cottage door carrying a windsor chair, which she placed on the threshold and sitting down surveyed the scene before her. It was a lined and wrinkled face that the frilled cap of the Hospice shaded, and the hands folded over the white linen apron were gnarled and worn, but though Mrs. Wilbraham was clearly one from whom the world had demanded more than a fair share of labour and sorrow, her eyes, deeply blue, with a translucent shimmer, were those of a child, eagerly questing, gaily hopeful.

Of all the days of her 65 years, this was the first evening that Mrs. Wilbraham had ever felt reasonably certain of a regular supply of food, clothing and shelter. The rest of her life had been a continuous battle to gain these necessities not only for herself, but often for several young children, and during many years for an ailing husband too. When after a period of widowhood, she had launched her children into independent positions, not one of them seemed able to support her, or even promise any regular assistance. She had never expected it, she had continued the brave struggle with failing health, refusing to worry about the future. She knew that one or two of the ladies for whom she worked had entered her name for S. Mary's Hospice—the old town almshouses for aged women, but it had come as a genuine surprise when a formal notice had arrived, apprising her of the fact, that a cottage being vacant, she, Joyce Mary Wilbraham, widow, had been elected by the Governors, to the possession thereof, and to all the privileges of a bedeswoman of the Hospice of S. Mary the Virgin. She was also told that the almshouse would be ready for her on the 4th of June, and bidden to present herself to one of the Governors at an early date, to let him know if she wished to take advantage of the offer made to her.

It had not taken long for Mrs. Wilbraham to arrange her few affairs, she had said good-bye to her "ladies" and they had promised to call on her when she was installed. Bert Jones, the baker's boy, had brought along her few bits of things, and here she was settled in, with no work whatever

beyond getting her own breakfast and tea, and even these the Hospice nurse would prepare for her any day that she felt unequal to the exertion herself. Dinner was a meal in common for which all the old ladies met in the big refectory, and the nurse always looked in to see her charges at about eight o'clock and gave them a cup of hot milk or any other little nutriment they might fancy.

Her thoughts strayed back to the surprising document that had put her in possession. What long words these legal papers had to be sure! Yes, Mrs. Randall, one of her ladies, had explained all the privileges—the coal, the nurse, the food, the little income of 1/- a week for pocket-money, and then she had smiled and said, "Yes, you have wonderful privileges, but don't forget that other old word, 'bedeswoman.' You must find out what it means."

"Tell me, ma'am," she had begged. "I thought it was a queer word and I'd like to understand it."

But Mrs. Randall had shaken her head. "No, Mrs. Wilbraham, I won't tell you now. You won't have any work to do with your hands and you must use those brains of yours—you've never had time before. Find out who founded the Hospice and why, and with your sense of justice I think you'll play the game."

Strange words, Mrs. Wilbraham reflected, but that was Mrs. Randall all over! She did like to make you puzzle things out for yourself! It was because she was a Catholic, she supposed, and she smiled as she remembered asking Mrs. Randall what Catholic meant. "It comes in the Apostles' Creed, I know, and I says it every Sunday—I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," but there's no doubt my Church isn't your Church." "Catholic means universal, Mrs. Wilbraham; *we* mean the same Church everywhere, at all times, that's what *we* mean when we says it, she says." "I don't know what you mean, do you?" So I looks at her puzzled-like and says, "No, I don't know," and she says, "Well, it's a pity to say things if you don't know what they mean, but perhaps some day when you have time to think you'll find out." Time to think, she had kind of harped on that, and what did she mean about "playing the game"? As she pondered, Miss Ruston, the nurse, came to inquire if she had settled in comfortably, and stayed chatting a while, then an old lady "next door," who had been watering her pinks hobbled along, leaning on two sticks. She refused Mrs. Wilbraham's chair. "It's too much of an effort, my dear, to sit

down and get up again. I'll just stand and say my piece, me being the oldest of the bedeswomen—I've come to give you a welcome in the name of us all, and we hope you'll live many years to enjoy the peace and comfort of the place. They do say that at some almshouses the old ladies are always bickering and tell-taling, but there's never anything of that here. I do believe there's some spirit in the place that keeps us contented and not inclined to quarrel."

Mrs. Wilbraham thanked her visitor, and wanted to make her a cup of tea; however, she would not stay, saying she found early to bed the best at her time of life, but that next morning she would like to show Mrs. Wilbraham round, if she didn't mind going slowly. "And what I says is,—what's the hurry, we've got all the time there is!"

This feeling of leisure and tranquillity seemed to be the keynote of the Hospice, and Mrs. Wilbraham slept well-contented with it, and when she woke next morning with a spacious sense of nothing to do she was still pleased, though every now and again her mind returned in rather a tantalized manner to Mrs. Randall, and the game in which she had been told to take her fair share.

It was indeed a slow progress that Mrs. Hobbs and Mrs. Wilbraham made next morning. Starting at about 11 o'clock, it took them more than an hour to call on all the inhabitants. The doyenne of the Hospice stopped almost between each step to give Mrs. Wilbraham a new piece of information about the present bedeswomen or those past and gone, of whom she had known so many. All these details were interesting enough and the time did not seem long when all the calls of ceremony were over and Mrs. Hobbs said, "Now I'll show you the Chapel, though why it is called 'Chapel' is more than I can tell you, it being Church of England, and not one good gospel sermon have I ever heard there. I'm *Wesleyan* myself, but I often goes there, I was put down Church of England on account of the rule. The Reverend Ireland, he's Vicar of S. Pancras, comes here every Sunday afternoon, and has a service for us."

By this time they had reached the chapel door. The moment Mrs. Wilbraham entered she realized that this was the heart of the place, the steady beat of tranquillity came pulsing from this beautiful building, stripped and bare of former glory though it was. The sun shone through its 15th century glass on to the High Altar, with its thin, modern brass cross and candlesticks, on to the dark oak of the carved screen and

stalls, and though the side chapels had no altars but were dim and empty, the diapering of blue, crimson, and gold thrown down by the sunlight through the glorious windows, seemed to adorn the vacant spaces, and fill the building with such a glow that for a moment Mrs. Wilbraham thought she saw angels' wings beating like soaring birds through the chancel.

"I should like to sit down and take it all in; isn't it lovely!" she exclaimed.

"Ah, you like it!" said Mrs. Hobbs, with a gratified air. "Well, just bide here a bit. I won't sit myself, it's too much of an effort to get up again, so I'll leave you, my dear, and be getting back. Sam, my cat, misses me if I'm out too long." The senior bedeswoman hobbled off, and for a time Mrs. Wilbraham heard the tap of her sticks on the stone pavement, but presently the sound died away and a deep stillness settled down, which the summer murmurs outside seemed to accentuate and not interrupt.

Mrs. Wilbraham sat still, listening. "The quieter it grows the more I seem to want to listen," she mused, "silly thing somehow to listen to nothing, and yet,—I don't know—there may be something besides words folk can listen to. After all, come to think of it, words only mean thoughts. Perhaps there are thoughts here; if I am only still enough I may catch their meaning."

There were plenty of thoughts that came to that receptive mind, the difficulty was to keep them clear and balanced, as it were. "Welcome, this is where you ought to be—you've been expected for a long time." This was the first idea, but that was the master-thought to the whole Hospice; the chapel only emphasized it; there was more to come yet.

There was a feeling as if something were being demanded of her, somebody wanted her to act, but how . . . some game in which she was to play? Mrs. Wilbraham started at this idea, and she remembered her Catholic lady's words. What did it mean. There was an oblong brass, very beautifully polished that attracted her charlady's eye; she got up to look at it. A long Latin inscription conveyed nothing and she was just moving on, when she noticed a printed square of cardboard lying on a seat below. Even this was a little difficult to understand, but Mrs. Wilbraham spelt it out slowly. "Translation of Brass, in Chapel of S. Mary's Hospice. Pray for the souls of Jehan Bendiss and Marie his wife, who founded this Hospice in honour of Our Lady S. Mary, in the year

1454." And underneath was a note to the effect that by the original rules of the Hospice, all the inmates who were sufficiently sound of limb, were bound to attend the weekly Mass of Requiem which was said in the chapel by the priest, and also to recite at least one decade of the rosary daily, for the repose of the souls of the said Jehan and Marie. These rules had been abolished under the New Scheme, after the Reformation, in the year 1570.

Mrs. Wilbraham sat down again rather abruptly after this discovery. Two things were plain to her—"as plain as the nose on my face," she muttered. One that the people who founded the Hospice had done so expecting something in return from the inmates, and the other that this obligation, whatever the words Requiem and Rosary might imply, was not being carried out. "I don't know what Re-qui-em may be," she thought, "but I have seen a Rosary, for Mrs. Randall's got one. I know she uses it when she prays, but whatever it all means, I can't think. This Jehan and Marie they've been dead, let's see, nearly 600 years. They wanted to be prayed for, I wonder why. What good did they think it would do them when they're dead?" But it wasn't fair, she thought indignantly, to take all they gave and give nothing in return. "I wonder—they must have been Catholics, seeing they talk of the Rosary . . . Mrs. Randall said Catholic meant the same thing at all times, then the Catholic Church here would be doing Re-qui-ems," she struggled over the word, "just as they did; I must find out, but anyhow" and here Mrs. Wilbraham frowned as if someone were arguing with her, "I'm going to pray for them." With a little effort, she got on to one of the hassocks provided for the old folk, which were high and not too tiring. "Our Father, which art in Heaven—" she said it through, and then stopped. "I ought to say something more, I wonder what. 'O Lord give Jehan and Marie whatever they need, and teach me to play the game,'" she gasped! "Well I never, that's not what I meant to say, but the words came somehow."

The Reverend Ireland arrived on the following Sunday afternoon, and the old people gathered in the chapel. They sang "Hark my soul, it is the Lord," and had a few prayers; then he gave them a little talk on the Gospel for the day, and the service ended with "O Paradise, O Paradise, 'tis weary waiting here." "Which it isn't," thought Mrs. Wilbraham. "It's the only rest I've ever enjoyed; but then, hymns don't mean nothing!"

The bedeswomen slowly made their way out of the chapel and Mr. Ireland stood at the door with a friendly word for each of them. "You're a newcomer," he said, as Mrs. Wilbraham stepped into the sunshine, "I hope you'll be granted many years to enjoy this peaceful life." "Thank you, sir, I'm sure I hope so too." Then she stopped. "Please sir, can you tell me if this chapel was ever Catholic?"

The chaplain stared; if she had spoken Greek to him, he could not have been more startled. "Catholic," he repeated, "why yes, it has always been Catholic; that is to say, it was founded before the Reformation, and afterwards, when the changes were made, the Church of England broke away from the Pope, but still continued to be Catholic, you know."

Mrs. Wilbraham looked relieved. "That means they still have the Re-qui-em and Rosaries for Jehan and Marie, sir! I am glad, it didn't seem fair-like not to—"

"Why no, at least not here, but of course the Holy Communion is the same service. You know we have it here once a month."

Mrs. Wilbraham's face clouded. "Very nice, I'm sure, sir," she said sadly, "but that's not once a week, and not for them, is it?"

Mr. Ireland glanced at his watch, he had a baptism at four. "I'm sorry I can't stop," he said. "Another day, Mrs. Wilbraham, we'll have a talk about the dear old Church of England." He hurried off.

"If you want a thing done, do it yourself, I always says," said the junior bedeswoman. "I'm going to find out about this Catholic business. Why shouldn't I go to S. Joseph's and see what they do there. If they have Re-qui-ems and Rosaries, stands to reason it's the same as what Jehan and Marie had."

Following this resolution, when S. Joseph's was reached she stopped to examine the porch. The Holy-water Stoup was a puzzle, but she passed that over and looked at the numerous memoriam cards, pinned on to a large board. It did not take her long to decide they were entirely sympathetic with the desires of Jehan and Marie. They were illuminating, for several of them had prayers printed on them. She read one, "Jesus Mercy, Mary Help." "Of your charity pray for the repose of Agnes Brown [then followed date] on whose soul, sweet Jesus have mercy."

When she had studied the cards she pushed open the swing door. True to her resolution Mrs. Wilbraham walked round

the building, making a very thorough examination of everything that came within view, and taking a special note of all that might concern the Departed. Beyond an alms-box marked "Holy Souls" she discovered nothing relevant. She gazed at this with a puzzled eye, it stood next to another box for alms for the Destitute Children of the Diocese. "The children, yes, I can see they wants money for them, but souls!" She shook her head and passed on.

The rest of her exploration though intensely interesting brought her no further enlightenment. She loved the statues, especially a really surprisingly hideous one of Our Blessed Lady, wrapped in a muddy blue mantle.

"That'll be the Lord's Mother; I've heard Catholics worship her, and to be sure I don't wonder if she's as beautiful as all that. He'd understand they couldn't help it. After all, there must be something special-like in being His Mother. Why shouldn't I—" here she glanced round a little startled at her own intrepidity,—"put up a prayer to her about it all; being a woman and such a lady too, I'm sure she'd help if she could."

There was a very convenient prie-dieu, and Mrs. Wilbraham sank down upon its blue kneeler, but how to begin? Fortunately the Scripture words inspired her. "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women." That was a salutation, but what about the gist of the matter? "Please, Mother of Jesus, pray for me, I want to play the game, now and up to the end, Amen." And being such a Lady, her answer came with courteous rapidity, for Mrs. Wilbraham turned round and found Father Nolan standing behind her, just about to light a candle, in token of a little request he himself had to ask of the Mother of Divine Grace. The old bedeswoman watched his proceedings with polite interest. "She is someone to hold a candle to; I'd like to do it," she thought. "Please, sir, will you tell me, if this Catholic religion now is the same as what Jehan and Marie Bendiss believed in?" The priest looked a little surprised; when he had glanced at the old lady kneeling there, he had supposed she was already a safely-folded child of Mary, but, as he recognized the uniform of the Hospice he realized it was unlikely if not impossible that a Catholic should enjoy the privilege of its religious shelter.

"Jehan and Marie Bendiss," he repeated, "the pious founders of S. Mary's Hospice? Yes, we Catholics now be-

lieve exactly what they did; the Catholic Church is always the same, everywhere and in all ages."

"That's exactly what Mrs. Randall said," Mrs. Wilbraham exclaimed eagerly. "Will you explain how I can pray for them properly and what Re-qui-em is?"

The priest countered with another question. "Do you want to pray for them, then?" By this time they were both sitting comfortably in a bench a few yards below the gracious Lady, who wore even that Reckitt's-blue atrocity with a difference.

Mrs. Wilbraham found it quite easy to talk, and explain the sense of obligation that pressed on her, and all Mrs. Randall had said before. She even told the rector the two prayers on which she had already ventured, and was relieved to find they met with his entire approval. "Yes, excellent, excellent," he said, but a little absently, and he gazed at her, as if his mind was occupied with a difficult problem. Father Nolan was an elderly priest with a large experience of men and women; he gazed straight into those blue eyes that were questioning him so anxiously; he looked up at the Lady in blue with an inward supplication. "My dear," he said gently, "I want to be quite honest with you. If I tell you more I think you're almost certain to want to become a Catholic and if you do that you know you must leave S. Mary's Hospice."

Mrs. Wilbraham started. "What, sir, why must I? If Jehan and Marie were Catholics?"

"I know it all seems very puzzling, but the rule is that only indigent women of the Protestant faith be admitted."

"It's not fair," she exclaimed. "That means they just want you *not* to do, what *they* wanted!"

Father Nolan shook his head sympathetically. "You must remember that a lot of Protestant money has been spent to keep it in repair, and to supply the inmates with many comforts."

"Well, if they took the place away from the Catholics, stands to reason *they* couldn't keep it up," said the bedeswoman indignantly.

Father Nolan smiled. "I'm afraid, however unfair it is, we can only face facts. It is of course possible that, when I have told you about the Faith you may remain unconvinced that it *is* what we claim, the one true religion; in that case, you can go on as before and remain happily at the Hospice to the end of your days; but supposing you believe it is true, and then you have not the courage to make the tremendous sacrifice that leaving would entail, well, you may remain

there, but with your innate honesty of heart, you cannot be happy."

There was a long pause—perhaps the Lady in blue guessed some of the thoughts that chased through her client's mind as she sat clasping and unclasping her hands in an agony of indecision—certainly she was being appealed to from the very depths of Father Nolan's heart as he sat apparently unconcerned waiting the bedeswoman's decision.

Mrs. Wilbraham was under no delusion—she knew in her heart that she had been shown the right, and the only right way, to answer Jehan and Marie's appeal, and her sense of fairness disposed her to respond to it, but at what a cost! Merely to have entered, hardly to have settled in, and then to be obliged to depart from this sanctuary that had won her whole heart's devotion.

"It'll mean the workhouse, sir!" she said at last, in strangled tones.

"I know, my child," the priest answered, and again there was a long pause.

Mrs. Wilbraham's head swam, the blood pulsed up in startling jumps. But she pulled herself together, and looked up with a triumphant smile.

"I'll do it, sir," she said, "I'll play the game. Will you teach me, please?"

It would be charming if this tale could be ended with a touching account of a special cottage provided for Mrs. Wilbraham at the church door, or some other easy solution that would save her from paying so heavy a price for her conversion. Yes, we sentimentalists like to think the heavenly road need not be so steep and narrow after all.

But Mrs. Wilbraham had a double reception, and, being of the stuff saints are made of, nothing else would have satisfied her ideas of what was due to God and to the Holy Souls.

For the same day that, enlightened by the grace of God, she professed that she believed "the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church to be the one true Church established on earth by Jesus Christ" and was received into its Motherly Bosom, that same evening she walked firmly up to the doors of the workhouse, to claim that last sad privilege of the aged poor, the shelter and succour of the State, having been dismissed from S. Mary's Hospice because she held the Faith of those who founded it.

GEORGE DAY.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

EUGÉNIE DE GUÉRIN ONCE MORE.

IS it as a writer, as a personality, or as a saint that Eugénie de Guérin makes perennial appeal?

Again and again, one writer after another,—M. Trebutien, Matthew Arnold, and now Victor Giraud—has drawn attention to this woman who, a hundred years ago, was leading an almost archaic existence in the South of France.

At a time when romanticism has become a byword of scorn it seems daring to bring out a new life of Eugénie de Guérin, yet a new life has been published this year and with apparent success. In the series "Le Roman des Grands Existences" this life is the latest volume. "Un grand existence"—yes, perhaps. But as a writer Eugénie de Guérin cannot be separated from the French romantic movement. The friend and admirer of Lamartine, of Saint Beuve, of d'Aurivilly whom she adopted as a brother, of her own brother Maurice, romantic among romantics, she also was a product of this school. If too robust a soul herself to fall unduly under its influence, its manner of thought and expression is yet hers. She too, is elegiac, effusive, overmuch given to feeling, or rather to its expression—an excess that would pall were the expression less happy, but it is Eugénie de Guérin's privilege to say, what she has to say, superlatively well.

Held back by religious scruples from becoming a "writer" in the ordinary sense of the word, she yet could not refrain from writing. Her "Journal" is so felicitous in style, that it has come to be regarded as one of the French classics. In this diary, written for her brother Maurice, whom she so dearly loved, and whose talent excelled perhaps her own, Eugénie tells the story of her life, or rather the incidents of a life that had no story.

What a simple life it was, patriarchal in its outward surroundings, filled with the humble occupations of an impoverished noble family and lived in the solitude of La Cayla! In this old château, where the reception rooms were used only on very rare occasions, we see Eugénie flitting about, very often in the kitchen "dans les casseroles,"—a phase of domesticity that she did not like,—helping with the family washing, and like another Nausicaa, bleaching her linen by the stream—the family gathered round the kitchen fire in winter—to save fuel no doubt—reading Plato and the French classics—Eugénie in her "chambrette" writing her diary or her many letters, while her linnet sings in the window—Eugénie again sitting spinning by her father's side or making the frocks in which

she was to appear in "le beau monde"—such are the pictures that fill the "Journal." "Days," as she describes them, "one exactly like another, some fragrance of a life that holds no story." This fragrance was intended only for her brother Maurice. It has diffused itself into a myriad hearts. Eugénie's outward life was marked by few events, few circumstances distinguished it from a hundred other lives, but her interior life was rich, ardent, profound, filled with great affections, great friendships, great intellectual interests, and an intense love of God.

Sanctity, human affections, intellectual activity—only a rare soul here and there can blend these elements without impairing their values, or destroying the harmony of the life that holds them. Only a rare talent can weave into the drab fabric of a humdrum existence the gay colours of romance. Eugénie de Guérin contrived in a measure to do both. Her holiness strengthened rather than weakened her affections, her piety went hand-in-hand with mental development. By the magic of her style she could lend to her obscure and uneventful life all the interest of a novel. Possessing in a pre-eminent degree the writer's gift of choice, she could detach from a mass of experience one event or circumstance, and make it alive by the mere charm of words.

Cloaks, clogs, umbrellas, all the paraphernalia of winter went with us this morning to Andillac, where we passed the whole day, some of it in the Curé's house, the rest of it in the church. How I love this life of a country Sunday with its activity, its journeys to church, its liveliness. You find all your neighbours on the road, you have a curtsey from every woman you meet, and then, as you go along, what talk about the poultry, the sheep, the cows, the good man and the children. My great delight is to give a kiss to these children, and see them run away to hide their blushing faces in their mother's gown.

Nothing in Paris can give you an idea of what Christmas is with us. You have not even Midnight Mass. We all, father at our head, went to it, on the most perfect night possible. Never was there a finer sky than ours that midnight . . . the ground was white with hoar-frost, but we were not cold. Besides the air, as we met it, had been warmed by the bundles of blazing torch-wood which our servants carried before us, to light us on our path. It was delightful, I do assure you! I wish you could have seen us on our way to church through these lanes with the bushes along their banks as white as if they were in flower. The hoar-frost makes the most lovely flowers. We saw one spray so beautiful that we wanted to take it as a garland for the tabernacle, but it melted in our hands: all flowers fade so soon. I was sorry about my garland. It was mournful to see it drip away and grow smaller every moment.

Eugénie de Guérin is alas ! untranslatable. The vivacity of her style gives a certain key to her temperament, which seems to have been the warm, lively temperament of the Midi. She, whose whole life was made up of suffering, had an unusual capacity for joy. In what trivial things does not this capacity reveal itself : in the visit of a friend, in the arrival of a new book or a letter, in the coming of the spring, or the singing of a bird. How lightly she touches these incidents, but every sunbeam that crossed her path left a golden track on her page. The background of her life is made up of sorrow, weariness, ennui—holy as she was, she seems to have suffered more than another from the weariness of well-doing—but in the foreground of the picture is always some gleam of joy.

Her diary is herself, her life, her soul. "This is not for the public, it contains my inmost thoughts. It is for one only [Maurice]. We see things with the same eyes, what you find beautiful I find beautiful. God has made our souls of one piece."

Because it was not meant for publication the "Journal" lets us into her secrets. It shows her unfaltering faith, her lofty religious aspirations, her thirst for holiness and for God. God is to her the beginning and end of all things. "Dieu est tout," how often do not these words occur in her diary. "What can my books teach me that I shall not know one day in heaven. Let God be my Master and my study here. I try to make Him so and I find myself the better for it. I read little, go out little; I plunge myself into the interior life. How infinite are the sayings, doings, feelings of that life. Oh, if you could see them. But what avails it to make them known; God alone should be admitted to the sanctuary of the soul." Yet for all her yearning, the beatitude of the true mystic was not hers. It was an almost unnatural strain for her to leave her beloved books, still more so to detach herself from human affections. She needed intellectual interests, she needed to love and be loved, needed to spend herself in devotion for those she loved.

Her affection for her brother Maurice was more than a sister's affection, it was the love of a mother and a friend. She suffered tortures when he wandered from the ways of faith and gave up the regular practice of religion. "Oh, the agony of being in fear for a soul's salvation; who can describe it?" When Maurice married, although she had desired the marriage, hoping it would bring him happiness, she suffered cruelly from the increased separation. "God knows when we shall see each other again. My own Maurice, must it be our lot to live apart, to find that this marriage, which I had so much share in bringing about, which I hoped would bring us so much together, leaves us more asunder than ever. . . . At any time of life a great affection is a great happiness, the spirit comes to rest in it entirely. O delight and joy ! which

will never more be your sister's portion. Only in the direction of God shall I find an issue for my heart to love, as it has a notion of loving, as it has power to love."

Maurice's health had been failing for years. He had inherited from his mother the seeds of lung trouble, which a life of work and privation in Paris had developed. When he returned to La Cayla in 1839, a year after his marriage, it was only to die there in Eugénie's arms at the age of twenty-nine.

After his death Eugénie's life began to ebb away from her. Its mainspring was broken. Ever afterwards she saw before her: "That beloved pale face, that beautiful head, with all its different expressions, speaking, suffering, dying." She continued her journal "to Maurice in heaven," but there came a time when even that consolation failed her.

I am broken with misery. I want to see him. Every moment I pray to God to grant me this grace. Heaven—the world of spirits is so far away from us. O depth and mystery of the other life which separates us! I who was so eagerly anxious about him, who wanted to know all that happened to him . . . wherever he may be now, it is over . . .

I am dying to everything, I am dying of a slow moral agony, a condition of intolerable suffering. Lie there, my poor diary, be forgotten together with all this world that is fading away from me. I will write no more until I come to life again, until God reawakens me out of this tomb in which my soul lies buried. Maurice, my beloved, it was not thus when I had you!

Eugénie survived her brother nine years, years that she spent in collecting his scattered compositions and trying to establish his fame. On the eve of the feast of the Ascension, her favourite feast, "the feast of souls who are detached, free, celestial, who find their joy above things visible, there where God attracts them"—she passed away at La Cayla, in the month of May, 1848, to join once more "le grand ami perdu."

Eugénie de Guérin exercised an influence in her own day, she exercises it still. What is there in the personality of this woman that never ceases to make appeal? Is it that she knew how to express superlatively well what so many feel but cannot express? Is it that she remains for ever a type of sisterly affection, another Antigone mourning over the dead body of her brother? Is it that, in the Christian life, she attained to just that step beyond, which inspires emulation without inspiring fear,—a saint without the saint's extremes? Her charm lies probably in her breadth of religious outlook and in her innate nobility of soul. M. Giraud has done well in calling this new life "La vie chrétienne d'Eugénie de Guérin." She was above all things a Christian. By her accuracy of thought and width of vision she throws new light

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on the Christian life, as lived by the faithful soul. The depth of her religious feeling and the broadness of her Christian outlook appeal even to unbelievers, the nobility of her life appeals to all. One word resumes that life, the word, sacrifice. To live for others rather than for herself, to work for the bodily and spiritual welfare of all those around her, to devote herself, efface herself, forget herself—such was her ideal, an ideal transfigured and beautified by religion.

Such souls are always to be found—souls who keep the flame of faith alive by the fuel of sacrifice—but few are gifted as Eugénie de Guérin was gifted. Only to very few has it been given to express, as perfectly as she has done, the secrets of a woman's soul. She charms by the perfection of her style, she charms by her holiness, and, where neither her literary gift nor her holiness can appeal, she charms by her greatness of soul. A democratic age may deny the value of one soul above another, but in the sifting of time it is the unselfish and the magnanimous that are awarded the prize.

A. RAYBOULD.

WHIT SUNDAY = WHITE SUNDAY.

A DISCUSSION which has been going on both in *The Times* ("Points from Letters") and in the *Daily Telegraph* affords an illustration of a curious phase of human psychology. Why is it that even in journals of such good standing a number of presumably well-educated people persist in communicating to the world their crude impressions upon a question which has long ago been settled and which may be found fully treated in almost any standard work of reference? It is now just fifty years since the late Professor Skeat began the publication of his *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. He was not by any means the first to determine the true derivation of the word Whitsunday, but he went to the root of the matter and he was able to show that the other fantastic suggestions which had been proposed were all of them from a philological, as well as from an historical, point of view utterly impossible. What he laid down has been in all its substantial details confirmed and ratified by other high authorities. Within the last few years the concluding sections of the great *Oxford English Dictionary* have been completed, and it may be said that the final word upon the etymology of Whitsunday has been spoken. It is then rather surprising that, just as happened to the *Standard* and *The Church Times* in 1904, the same futile suggestions that Whitsunday is wit-sunday, the Sunday of ghostly wisdom; or wight-sunday, the sunday of a spiritual being or wight; or the festival of "the white sun"; or a corruption of the German *Pfingsten*, and we

know not what else, should again be paraded as though the subject had never been discussed before and as if the experts of the Oxford Dictionary were a set of happy-go-lucky schoolboys guessing at the meaning of an "unseen."

Without troubling ourselves with the principles of phonetics to which philological science appeals in demonstrating that certain transformations of words are impossible, let us be content with stating a few simple facts. Whit-sunday is obviously white Sunday and cannot be anything else—partly from the spelling of the word in its earlier forms and partly from the existence in the Scandinavian languages of many parallels which almost certainly have been copied from the English. The word has so far not been found in our native documents earlier than about the year 1100, when, in MS. D of the so-called "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," we read that in 1067 (this seems to be a chronological error; it should be 1068) Ealdred, Archbishop of York, administered regal unction on Whitsunday to Matilda, the Queen of William the Conqueror. "Ealdred arcebiscop hig gehalgode to cwene on West-mynstre on Hwitan Sunnandaeg." After that date the word meets us constantly. It occurs in some of the early English homilies, we find it more than once in Layamon's Brut, it is also in the *Ancren Riwle*, and it has held its ground in English speech ever since. The fact, however, that it is not met with anywhere before the middle of the eleventh century seems fatal to the suggestion of any pagan or nature-myth origin. "Yule" and "Easter" occur over and over again in the fairly copious vernacular literature which survives from before the Norman Conquest; but when our native chroniclers or homiliasts or poets had occasion in those days to speak of Whitsunday they always called it Pentecost. "From the holy day of Easter," says *Ælfric*, in one of his homilies, "are counted fifty days to this day, and this day is called Pentecost [and thes daeg is geháten Pentecostes] that is the fiftieth day of Easter-tide." The German word *Pfingsten* is itself a corruption or adaptation of a numeral meaning fiftieth.

But why, it will be asked, should men have called it *white* Sunday? To the modern Catholic who is familiar with the fact that Whitsunday is the only Sunday in the year on which red vestments must always be worn, the term will seem quite perversely inappropriate. There is no good reason for supposing that the name had anything to do with the colour of the vestments, for there must have been from this point of view many other white Sundays. Still it seems worth while to point out that before the Reformation white vestments and not red were undoubtedly worn at Pentecost throughout the greater part of England. Sir William St. John Hope and Mr. Atchley, in their very painstaking and exhaustive study entitled "English Liturgical Colours," declare without hesitation that though Whitsuntide

was *red* at Wells, Exeter, and Pleshy, white was worn at Salisbury, York, and Evesham,¹ while the important position held by both Salisbury and York in all liturgical matters cannot fail to have exercised considerable influence upon other churches. For example, we learn from a document concerning Lichfield in 1240 that "in Eastertide and in the week of Pentecost the ministers of the altar use white dalmatics and the rulers of the quire in like wise use white copes."²

Further, there seems good reason to be satisfied that the explanation of the term "white," propounded both by Prof. Skeat and by the editors of the Oxford Dictionary, is in substance correct. "The epithet 'white,'" say the latter, "is generally taken to refer to the ancient custom of the wearing of white baptismal robes by the newly baptized at the feast of Pentecost"; and they go on to refer to the term *Dominica in albis*, which is the name given to Low Sunday for somewhat the same reason. One must say "somewhat the same reason," because in the latter case we should probably have to supply the word *deponendis*. Low Sunday was the day upon which the white garments were laid aside.

There are, however, reasons why the white coifs or "chrisoms" of the newly baptized were likely to attract particular attention at Pentecost. To us now it seems incredible that infants and others could have been allowed to go without baptism for months together until the next Easter came round, but undoubtedly that strange discipline was still being enforced precisely at the time when the term Whitsunday first confronts us. A council held at Winchester in 1074 renewed the injunction that baptism was not to be administered, except at Easter and Pentecost, unless there were danger of death in the interval.³ Now it seems reasonable to suppose that those who had waited to have their children baptized, or adults who had waited themselves for nearly twelve months, would not be very much put out by a postponement of another six weeks. Holy Saturday, owing to the great length of the offices of the Church, must have been an extremely inconvenient day to be baptized on, more especially as it followed on Lent, which at that period was rigidly observed both by complete abstinence from meat in the case of all and by a rigorous fast for adults. Moreover weather conditions were in every way more likely to be favourable at Whitsuntide than at Easter. There is therefore a certain probability that the great majority of the baptisms took place on Whitsun eve, or possibly even on Whitsunday itself. The Whitsun processions to the mother church

¹ See "English Liturgical Colours," p. 149. Be it noticed also, as we learn from the same source, that Wells and Westminster used red also at Easter, and that Wells again red on Corpus Christi, when that feast was introduced.

² *Ibid.* pp. 129 and 211.

³ "De baptismate, quod in Pascha et Pentecoste solummodo celebretur, nisi periculum mortis fuerit." Wilkins, "Concilia." Vol. I., p. 365.

were also a notable feature at the same period,¹ and it is something more than likely that the majority of the population would have been present at the church offices on such an occasion, bringing even their infants in arms with them. Once such a baby show, if the slang phrase be not inappropriate in this connection, had taken on, there is no difficulty in believing that the white coifs of the newly baptized would make a great impression. From what one knows of feminine human nature there is likely to have been a certain rivalry between mothers in the adornment of the "chrisoms" provided for the occasion. Like Chestnut Sunday or Ascot Sunday, or, to seek a parallel in another connection, "White Sales," the nickname White Sunday would seem appropriate, and, once given, it would be maintained even when the conditions which created it had completely passed away. In any case "White Sunday" was plain English, which Pentecost is not, and there was always a tendency in popular speech to avoid outlandish terms or to find substitutes to which a meaning could be attached. Possibly, however, the key to the whole mystery is to be found in an enigmatic utterance, undoubtedly of English origin, which occurs in the so-called "Penitential of Archbishop Theodore": "Pro reverentia regenerationis in albis Pentecosten orandum est ut in quinquagesima oratur."²

H.T.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

THE Catholic Church in no way shows her zeal for education better than by sanctioning and encouraging in her midst the growth of religious institutions of both men and women, who retire from the ordinary life of the world precisely to devote themselves to it. For she holds that the least part of education is the acquisition of knowledge. As Ruskin says somewhere: "Education is not teaching people to know what they do not know, but to behave as they do not behave." And the Church holds, what is indeed common sense, that those are best fitted to impart moral training whose very lives form an intensive course in that discipline. A high, consistent and fixed moral standard, and a practical knowledge of the way of perfection, with a no less practical experience of human weakness—these form part of the ordinary equipment of the Religious teacher, which, in the usual course of things, is not to be found in the same degree amongst those who have not had the same training. When we add to this the fact that in a Religious body there is generally a well-tried

¹ At the Council of Lillebonne over which William the Conqueror presided in 1080, this matter of the Pentecostal processions was made the subject of a decree. See Mansi, "Concilia," Vol. XX., pp. 67-74.

² Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," III., p. 203.

tradition, the accumulation of years of experiment, we can understand why even non-Catholics, who set proper store on the training of the will, send their children to schools taught by Religious.

Many years ago, Father Joseph Rickaby discussed in this Review one inevitable effect of the existence of Religious teaching-orders, which are considered to give a better education, in the broad sense, and at a smaller cost than is to be got from lay-institutions.¹ They may be said to compete with those lay-institutions unfairly, in a sense, and thus to lower the reasonable emoluments of the teaching profession. The grievance is plausible, and it is really felt in some quarters. At the end of a Congress of Irish National Teachers, held at Waterford in April, a resolution was passed deplored the increase of religious communities, as conductors of elementary schools, to the detriment of the prospects of lay-teachers. The resolution was exaggerated in terms and supported by violent speeches, calculated to defeat their object. One in particular was rash and foolish enough to attack the Christian Brothers, whose immense services to education in Ireland are universally acknowledged. No instances were brought of favouritism by the Government in the treatment of Religious schools, and the plea in essence was one for a lay-monopoly in the teaching profession. There would seem, in fact, to be some danger of the false notion so prevalent in this country that the National Teachers are a branch of the Civil Service, creeping into Ireland also, where the true theory has always been so clearly recognized. *The Irish Monthly* for May, in the course of a spirited comment on the debate, clearly stressed the right of the individual to join a teaching Order and the right of the parent to choose a Religious school for his child. After all, it is for the sake of the child that both teaching congregation and lay-teacher exist, not *vice versa*.

The demand for a restriction in the number of Religious teachers [says *The Irish Monthly*] is a challenge to the Christian principle that parents should have a right of choice as to their children's educators; it is the setting up of a new principle that children are brought into the world for the benefit of teachers, instead of teachers being for the benefit of the children.

And it goes on to point out that there is no likelihood of there ever being enough Religious vocations to provide for more than a small proportion of the primary teaching of the country. The resentment which the resolution aroused in the country shows that there is no taint of anti-clericalism in that Catholic land.

¹ See *THE MONTH*, Oct. 1909, "The Economy of Religious Orders." Father Rickaby includes in his survey the case of those Orders devoted to hospital work, which has a similar economic bearing.

Parents there for the most part rejoice that morally speaking the education of their children is in safe and competent hands.

On the other hand, it may fairly be conceded that a well-conducted lay-school may in certain points prepare a child better for life after school than do some Religious schools. We need not labour that impression, for it is based on the *a priori* ground that a likelihood is sure, now and then, to become a fact. Religious have always to be on their guard against a tendency to give their charges their own scheme of values, on too wide and detailed a scale. Piety is, indeed, useful for all things, but it must be a solid piety, proving itself in work rather than in emotion. The true test of a good Christian education is zeal for the Faith; the best recommendation for a school or college is the number of its ex-pupils who are vigorously trading with their most priceless possession.

Amongst those we can hardly reckon people who, having Catholic university training at their very doors, prefer to look to a non-Catholic institution, founded expressly to oppose Catholicism and alien to national sentiment, for the crown of their formative training. As recently as August, 1927, the Irish Hierarchy had to renew their constant prohibition of Catholic attendance at Trinity College, Dublin; yet we are told to-day there are numbers of Catholics on the books of Trinity, whose parents thus have made light of "the responsibility they incur in the sight of God, by deliberately disregarding this solemn admonition of the Church" (Maynooth Synod, 1927). Irish higher education had the honour of inspiring Newman's famous Lectures. Have they been so completely forgotten in the land of their origin that educated people are found to defy an express prohibition based on their argument? To those who know what Trinity is and stands for, any formal recognition of that fortress of Protestant Ascendancy by a Catholic savours of apostasy. Catholics at English universities stand on a different footing; they have no choice; their religious interests are safeguarded by chaplaincies; their surroundings, infidel enough, are not inspired by the bitter anti-Catholic traditions of Trinity. We shall not consider that Ireland has really entered upon her destined path as a Catholic nation till her National University is completed by a Chair of Theology, and until Catholic public opinion unequivocally and manifestly condemns, as an act of treachery to the Faith, unauthorized membership of Queen Elizabeth's foundation. Meanwhile, we are glad that there is one Catholic journal in Ireland—there may be more of course, which we do not see—which loses no opportunity of stigmatizing this scandal as it deserves; that journal is *The Catholic Pictorial*. Its vigorous re-action to any attempt by Catholics to lower the Catholic ideal is one of the most hopeful signs of the times.

J.K.

II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH

After
the
Battle.

Before these lines are read, the result of the General Election, the most momentous, the Press assures us, of recent times, will be known.

We have been wearied for weeks past with the recriminations of politicians, which the judicious find so futile and so unreal; each eager to score small debating points, to belittle achievement, to hint unworthy motives, to ridicule arguments, to coin insulting "slogans," in regard to their opponents. There is great work to be done, if this land is to recover, or for the first time to gain, social health. The proletariat must be restored to some sense of human dignity by a wide distribution of property; the irresponsible power of great wealth, which degrades both employer and employed, must be brought under control; some means must be found of checking the prevalent usury, which grinds the faces of the poor; pending the abolition of wage-slavery, work and the worker, so disastrously dissociated, must be brought together, and all the influence that this country can exert must be devoted to the final banishment of war and its menace from the councils of the nations. But no politician seems to look far enough ahead to contemplate or desire any great modification of the present economic system. (We regard Socialism as essentially the same as Capitalism, as now operating; both being opposed to widely-distributed private ownership.) From a general standpoint, it matters little enough which party succeeds in gaining a majority; now that Labour has shed its root-and-branch Socialism, which in any case the magnates of finance would prevent it from applying, there is no real and radical difference between them. The tasks before all three are mainly economic, but none of them seems to have a clear grasp of the Christian ideal. Let us hope that, whatever the result, a reform of the present elective system will be immediately set on foot. No Government is really democratic, unless supported by a clear majority of votes.

Parental
Rights.

In one point only of fundamental importance, that of parental rights in education, one of the parties, the Conservative, early showed an adequate sense of truth and justice. The others seemed to be hampered, the Liberals, by the dread of militant Nonconformity, and Labour, of secularism. These sections of the electorate cannot get out of their heads the idea that Catholics, in advancing conscientious convictions, are aiming at an unjustifiable privilege—that of having teachers of their own religion employed exclusively in their schools. They do not reflect that this is not a privilege but a right—a right which they them-

selves have foregone, or rather which they find already conceded to them in the provided-school system. Nonconformists are quite content with Cowper-Temple teaching, which in practice is just as denominational as Catholicism, and thus they have their own religion taught at the cost of public funds,—to which Catholics contribute. Whatever the gain to the Conservatives from their honest recognition of the rights of the conscientious parent of whatever creed to have his children taught his own religion, we hope that this vastly important question will be removed from the clash of party politics in the next Parliament.

**The Claims
of
Feminism.**

If anyone thought that, the vote being conceded, no more would be heard of Feminism, as a political and social movement, a glance at the

Election Address of the "Equal Rights General

Election Campaign" would show him how entirely mistaken he was. This Committee represents fifteen women's societies, including the Catholic "St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance," and it has formulated in their name an exhaustive programme of what is embraced under the term "Equal Rights," conveniently published in *The Catholic Citizen* for May. Under the categories—Equal political status, Equal economic rights, Equal status for the married, Equal moral standard and Equal international representation (League of Nations)—we find a detailed series of demands, which indicate, at any rate, how far Feminists are from considering that they are justly treated. In judging of the validity of these demands, the Catholic will be guided by the traditional teaching of the Church regarding the position of women, which was compendiously expressed in these pages, as long ago as August, 1911, as follows: "Christianity favours every development of woman's personality, intellectual and moral, social and political, which can be shown to leave proper scope for her functions in the Family." Reckoning by that fairly-definite standard most of the claims of this manifesto would be justified. It is mainly in regard to certain economic demands that one feels hesitation. The Church sanctifies Christian marriage by raising the natural contract to the dignity of a Sacrament; men and women have distinct yet complementary functions in regard to it, which necessitate a certain economic discrimination of work. In demanding perfect equality in the economic sphere the Committee for Equal Rights seems to ignore woman's dignity as wife and mother.

**Politics
and
Morals.**

Connected with the election, we were delighted to see, in a division of Kensington, a determined protest against the candidature of a man whose moral character had suffered in divorce proceedings.

Whatever the issue, the fact that an organized protest has been made shows that some electors are still alive to the desirability of the arbiters of public morals being themselves irreproach-

able. We should be glad to see that sensitiveness extended beyond the bounds of mere decency, and to find, for instance, the employer of sweated labour, the fomenter of international discord, the religious bigot, the assailant of Christian civilization, all equally rejected at the hustings. Whether an M.P. is to be regarded as a representative or as a delegate, he is a legislator, and consequently should not be at variance with law. If democracy has any meaning, it is the electors who should have the final, if not the first, word concerning the moral and general fitness of the elected. That is why Catholics, suffering under the unjust burden of a double school-tax, have been so insistent on candidates recognizing that fact. At the last moment we hear that Labour did recognize it.

In the abortive "Government of Ireland Bill"

Irish Freemasonry. of 1920, there were inserted two clauses in favour of Freemasons, *viz.*, (1) "Existing enactments relative to unlawful oaths, or unlawful assemblies in Ireland shall not apply to Freemasons," and (2) "No Parliament in Ireland shall have power to abrogate or affect prejudicially any privilege or exemption of the Freemasons, which is enjoyed either by law or custom." It was thus that the Ascendancy tried to retain in working order, in circumstances which threatened it, the corrupt instrument by which they had governed the country in their own interests. A similar exemption on behalf of the same notorious secret society was inserted in the oath taken, before Parliament was forced by public opinion to remove it, by the Dublin Metropolitan Police; it prohibited membership of any "political or secret society, other than the Society of Freemasons." Signor Mussolini, confronted in Italy by the same anti-civic organization, aiming at control of the government for its own secret ends, met its challenge by a simple measure enacting the compulsory registration of the membership and aims of all societies, and debarring from national or municipal office anyone bound by a secret oath! By way of letting a ray of wholesome daylight into Irish Masonry, which still pursues its unfair methods as far as altered circumstances allow, *The Catholic Pictorial* began in March last to publish a list of Irish Masons, with the numbers of their lodges, which should when concluded do something to prevent their exercising any undue influence in political life. All citizens should be equal before the law, so it is well that those on whose behalf political and social privilege is claimed, should be well known to their fellow citizens.

Reparations The prolonged discussion about war-debts and

a Will-o'-the-Wisp? German reparations seems to us to take no account of a certain psychological feature, which nevertheless will ultimately govern the whole situation; that is, the fact that in a few years the influential people in all countries will be those who know of the Great War only

from history and tradition. The indemnity paid by France to Germany after 1871 was handed over and received by those who had actually fought. Does anyone really suppose that the populous and prosperous German republic, ten years hence, will be ready to go on finding £100,000,000 or so annually for the former Allies? And if it be unwilling, how shall it be compelled to pay? Before the end of the next decade, the nations will either have learned common sense and discarded their costly armaments, or Germany will have asserted her right to be armed on the scale set by her rivals. When Pope Benedict urged in 1917, as a necessary basis for peace, "complete and reciprocal condonation" of war-costs, he saw what the war-excited victors couldn't see—that as long as war-indemnities were exacted, so long the state of war would continue and so long the victor nations would have to keep up their colossal armaments. Whereas, if they had at his suggestion forgone the exaction of war-costs and reduced their forces, they would by this time have saved more than they can ever hope to gain, besides creating a real atmosphere of peace. But our European statesmen thought the Holy Father rather an amateur diplomatist, gave him no place at the Peace Council, and, ten years after the conclusion of the war, are still maintaining immense forces to collect debts, the payment of which becomes daily more illusory. Once Germany was admitted into the League of Nations, both the occupation of the Rhineland and the exaction of indemnities were seen to be obviously out of harmony with the ideals of that institution. Once French and German friendship was guaranteed by Great Britain at Locarno; once the Kellogg Pact made the use of force to collect debts a futile anachronism, then all this question of reparations lost much of its reality. It would be far better for the ex-Allies to admit their debtor to a composition, capable of being paid off in a few years, and then to set themselves seriously to recover the sums thus lost by reducing their armies and navies to police-forces. We have hopes that America, which, through the mouth of Mr. Gibson, introduced the first practical suggestion which the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has heard since it first began to sit, will ultimately take the lead in this matter also. Whatever Government is in power next week cannot, we fancy, fail to be even more resolute on behalf of peace than the late one. Public opinion is gradually, if slowly, arriving at the belief that, of all forms of extravagance, the worst is that which incessantly prepares for, and by preparing makes inevitable, an unnecessary, destructive and inconclusive war.

Peace Propaganda. A joint manifesto, called a "British-American Message to all People of Good Will," and signed by 150 religious leaders here and in the United States, should have the effect of crystallizing that public opinion in the active pursuit of peace in English-speaking

countries. The signatories declare: "We believe that the time has come when the world must have done with war,—in fact, in expectation, and in planning. We believe that another collision between great nations would be an assault upon civilization and an offence against God, and we believe that the intelligence and conscience of this generation are able to build the structure of a permanent peace." And in the Kellogg Pact, they see the means of so shaping international policy that "the whole psychology of supposedly hostile interests and competitive armaments may be transformed into the creative faith which shall build and strengthen those arbitral treaties, courts of justice, and covenants between the nations, by which peace can be assured." We have always held that the influences that make for war—racial jealousy, national arrogance and ambition, vested and professional interests, commercial greed, mere apathy and want of thought—are so strong and so constantly operative that the prosecution of peace demands all the energy and all the good will available. We trust, therefore, that these earnest and eminent men will not be content with signing a paper but will actively and incessantly press their faith upon politicians who, as a class, are themselves so apt to be content with paper declarations.

**The End
of the Oxford
Movement.**

"Anglo-Catholics" are fond of declaring themselves the representatives in doctrine, worship and mission, of the pre-Reformation Church in

this land, whereas as they stand at present they

do not even represent the old Oxford Movement, which, in teeth of the evidence, originally made that claim. If there was anything that Newman and his friends repudiated as the solvent of true Christianity it was that very spirit of "Liberalism in religion," which, under the name of Modernism, has now captured every section of the Anglican Church. On the first publication of "A New Commentary on Holy Scripture," edited by Dr. Gore and other High Anglican scholars, some Catholics, seeing immediately the essential rationalism of the work, were really astonished that it had been put together under the auspices of the English Church Union, and to find it welcomed effusively by *The Church Times*. Such Catholics, thus shocked, seemingly had never realized that, behind the "Catholic" phraseology employed by High Anglicans, Private Judgment is as vigorous as it is in the freest of Free Churchmen. *The Church Times* itself owned that "there is nothing really new in principle in the treatment of the Scriptures which has been adopted in this Commentary."¹ Oldfashioned Churchmen like Lord Halifax, pathetically clinging to the illusion that Anglicanism is a teaching Church with a definite faith, protested mildly against the principles on which the Commentary was founded, as raising a question "that deserves the most serious

¹ Dec. 14, 1928.

consideration on the part of all those who have the interests and welfare of the Church of Christ at heart."¹ The Anglican public responded by buying the Commentary and necessitating a second edition of it in an incredibly short time. The Modernists, properly so called, were not enthusiastic but welcomed the work as an instalment of a long-due debt. Dean Inge, in a pungent epigram which puts the case in a nutshell, said:² "This book marks the exact position of Bishop Canute's chair at the beginning of 1929." He, at any rate, saw clearly that a transitional and provisional attitude alone is logical, on the principles avowed by Bishop Gore and his friends. Even the Secretary of the E.C.U. in a vain attempt to evade responsibility for a book which if trusted in would prove wholly destructive of the Christian faith, gave his whole case away with blissful unconsciousness when he wrote:³ "It is worth while to note that the great fundamental truths of the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth . . . under the scrutiny of the best modern scholarship, emerge even more clearly defined and more firmly established than ever, *on the basis of historic veracity.*" (Italics ours.) An acute critic in America, the Rev. W. H. McClellan, S.J., Professor of Sacred Scripture at Woodstock, in a long and deeply reasoned discussion of the Commentary,⁴ exposes the complete and fundamental break with Tractarian theology implied in this attitude. Of its supposed representatives he says: "It [the Commentary] has not left them a single distinctive principle. Divine authority in any definite form or accessible source is frankly denied them; inspiration is human and of varying degrees; inerrancy, a figment or rabbinic extravagance; the Church's interpretative authority essentially fallible, and the tradition of her teaching dethroned by a literary enigma, known as the New Testament. The only standard of religion from which there can be no further appeal—and so taught the Redeemer Himself—is 'The reason and conscience of men.'"⁵ What more, we may ask, and what other does the Rationalist Press Association ask from its adherents?

**A Bigot
on
Bigotry.**

On Pentecost Sunday, when is commemorated the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, "to teach them all truth," Dean Inge, preaching on that actual text from the pulpit of St. Paul's, deprecated educating children in any fixed religious dogmas. It is a favourite theme of his. Long ago he proclaimed that the effect of Catholic teaching was to make "little bigots." He himself does not believe in institutional Christianity as anything divine. "There is no evidence," he proclaims pontifically,⁶ "that the his-

¹ Letter to *The Church Times*, Jan. 25, 1929.

² *The Evening Standard*, Dec. 5, 1928.

³ *The Church Times*, Feb. 1, 1929.

⁴ *The Ecclesiastical Review*, May 1929.

⁵ *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1918.

torical Christ ever intended to found a new institutional religion." An inner experience of Anglicanism might well lead to that conclusion, and the Dean is welcome to his opinion. But he becomes a nuisance, not to say a menace, when on the strength of his private beliefs, he advocates the exclusion of Catholics, as he did in the same sermon, from any share in primary education. He is pleased to link them with Communists, on the score that both parties have a definite religious outlook, with which he holds it is unfair to imbue the unresisting minds of youth! It is not the character of what you hold that matters, according to this quaint minister of the Gospel, but the conscientious firmness with which you hold it, that is, or may be, objectionable. Of course the speaker reveals his own amorphous creed in these crude utterances, which are only worthy of note because they are uttered, unrebuted, from what is supposed to be a Christian pulpit. He should really confine himself to his well-paid and comparatively innocuous journalism. We remember once seeing a small book called "The Wit and Wisdom of Dean Inge"; a larger work would be needed, we fear, to embrace all his religious and racial aspersions.

**The
White Man's
Burden.**

All who believe in the mission of Christian civilization to extend its benefits to the less civilized, must have rejoiced when the attempt to free a white settler in South Africa from the full punitive

consequences of a monstrous outrage against a native failed, and the criminal, who had used the lash with fiendish cruelty on his helpless victim, himself received an all too slight acquaintance with the same instrument before beginning his term of penal servitude. There is no white colonizing race which has not been stained with many records of hideous cruelty against the natives whom they dispossessed and exploited and enslaved; even to-day, we are told, the remnants of the Red Indians on the American reservations receive much less than justice from those in charge of them. If we follow the questions put in Parliament to the Colonial Secretary, we shall realize what constant vigilance is necessary to prevent injustice to natives, even in those Mandated Territories which are supposed to be administered primarily in the native interest. An increase of 600 per cent in the quantity of spirits, not a civilizing agency, sold in the Gold Coast, since 1920, was pointed out in Parliament last February; an instance, surely, of the basest form of commercialism. Again the Catholic authorities in the Belgian Congo have had to protest to the Home Government against what they euphemistically call "exaggerated recruitment" of native man-power. A glance at the monthly issue of a little periodical called *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* will show that "man's inhumanity to man," inspired nearly always by Mammon, is still frightfully prevalent.

**Temperance
Matters.**

We have no sympathy with those who get hurt in trying to help Americans to evade a law, even though it is both a foolish and an unjust law, and we are glad that, in spite of the stunt press, the public refused to make naval heroes of the master and crew of the rum-runner, sunk by a U.S. patrol boat. On the other hand, the slowness of those responsible for law and order in the States to recognize that, both on *a priori* grounds, and as a practical experiment, the Volstead Act is unjust and futile;—facts which are so very obvious to the rest of the world—makes one doubt their wisdom in other respects. Mistakes are made elsewhere by legislators, trying a short cut to the millennium, but they are admitted and corrected without any show of *mauvaise honte*. Canada, New Zealand, Norway, have all flirted with Prohibition and given it up because they found it didn't in any sense pay. The States, rather than admit a mistake, spent last year £185,000,000 in a wholly unsuccessful attempt to enforce this irrational law, to the grievous detriment of law in general. If Mr. Hoover wants to trace one cause why the average of crime is higher in his country than in any other that boasts itself civilized, let him weigh without prejudice the effects of his "noble experiment." On that point we are glad to see emphasized, in the programme put forward before the Election by the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches, the fact that Catholics will support no scheme for Local Option (which may turn out to be Local Prohibition) unless that particular choice, restrictive of otherwise lawful liberty, is practically self-imposed; that is how we interpret their demand that at least 75 per cent of the constituency should be on the side of Prohibition before it is carried. A community, like an individual, has the right to go dry if it pleases.

**Did
Bigotry Defeat
Smith?**

Apropos of an article in our April issue that aimed at removing from American republicans the reproach of having betrayed their Constitution by allowing considerations of religion to influence their choice of President, we have received several letters, sorrowfully disagreeing with that view of the Election. It was his Catholicism and not his wetness, even allied with other subsidiary reasons, that caused Governor Smith to lose so many hitherto democratic States. Bigotry—hatred and fear of that supra-national religious system called Catholicism—is still an active force in that vast country, where Catholics, concentrated in the cities, are unknown to millions of their fellow-citizens. We were very willing to think otherwise, and Fr. Ross's well-reasoned paper seemed to give us sufficient warrant; but now it seems a matter on which certainty is not easily attainable. Frankly the refusal of the States to send a representative, worthy of their international status, to the Vatican, seems to us a more conclusive evidence of the influence of bigotry than the late election. Every

consideration of decency and self-respect seems to demand that the greatest power of the Western World should have its Ambassador at the centre of Christendom and, apparently, only the fear of offending the bigots stands in the way.

**The
Obligation of
Law.**

We have often urged that the prevalence amongst English-speaking jurists of the Austinian conception of law as something purely positive and penal, the binding nature of which

lies only in the power to enforce it, is a great obstacle in the way of framing an international Code. For if law is dissociated from morality, as John Austin, following his masters, Hobbes and Locke, declared it to be, there is no uniform standard left to guide the conscience of mankind. And no plea of conscience avails against an enforceable law, however unjust. It amazes one to find this immoral and tyrannical idea of law upheld in America; and it is still more astonishing to find it upheld by the President himself. Mr. Hoover, in his inaugural address and in his remarkable speech to the Associated Press in New York on April 22nd, maintained that all law is binding in its very nature and that the only remedy in the hands of those who find any law oppressive and unjust is to work constitutionally for its repeal. Therefore, he implies, the Volstead Act binds in conscience, and they are bad citizens who disregard it! Our contemporary, *America* (May 4th) and Fr. John A. Ryan, D.D. in the *Commonweal* (April 3rd) have pointed out the ethical error on which the President's contention is based, and indeed the United States, which came into being through resisting unjust laws should be the last locality in the world to give it any countenance. The moral advancement of mankind has always depended upon the right of conscience to defy tyranny, and from all accounts it would seem that the conscience of America was awakening, largely through the violent methods used in the efforts to enforce, to the essential tyranny of Prohibition. Meanwhile we learn from a "Clipsheet" issued by a Methodist Board of Temperance in Washington that tobacco will be the next object of attack. There is a campaign on foot against the excessive advertisement of cigarettes! We are against excess of every kind, not least against the excessive zeal that would remedy excess by abolishing use.

**The
"Impuritans."** It is a shocking thing that the privilege of producing uncensored plays on Sunday should result in that day being further desecrated by filthy representations, like that staged in London on May 12th, which the police would not tolerate for a moment in any theatre on a weekday. By all accounts this particular production overstepped the very wide limits of theatrical licence, so that the fairly "broadminded" secular press almost universally

condemned it. The occurrence at any rate emphasizes the necessity of a strict censorship and it should strengthen the hands of the Lord Chamberlain and of other unpopular moralists who try to bring what a witty American calls "the Impuritans" within the bounds of common decency. The unwholesome clique of those loose-minded litterateurs in Dublin who have shown so plainly of what spirit they are by their attempt to defeat the Irish Censorship Bill, still exposed to the criticism of their kind in the Senate, is of little credit to the patient land that puts up with it. We trust that the growing force of Catholic public opinion, which the Centenary celebrations at the end of this month should do much to stimulate, will make of that Bill when it becomes an Act a real power to cleanse the reading matter provided for the Irish public. The absurd plea, implicit in all the outcry about moral censorship, that what could not be painted or exhibited in photograph without criminal offence may innocuously be depicted in word should be dismissed with the contempt it deserves.

The
Triumphs of
Mammon.

It makes a curious commentary on the meaning of Democracy in practice that the will of the people may be, and is, constantly flouted, because the machinery for expressing it is so cumbersome and hard to set in motion. For weeks all the *élite* of London—ecclesiastics, artists, architects, aesthetes generally, not to mention the L.C.C. itself,—have been protesting against the proposed erection, on the river bank near Battersea, of an enormous electric power station, which will consume an enormous quantity of coal, and, amongst other incombustibles, will send into the atmosphere of London concentrated clouds of sulphurous fumes, to the great detriment of health, vegetation and stonework of all kinds. Those interested in the scheme have got Parliamentary power to go on with it, on promise of *doing all they can* to mitigate the nuisance. Since "all they can" means, in the opinion of many experts, just nothing at all, one might think that the proclamation of that fact would result in the abandonment of the scheme: nothing of the kind. It will go on, and the stonework of Westminster Abbey, not to mention that of Parliament House itself, at present being "preserved" at immense cost, will flake and crumble with growing rapidity. The Abbey's commercial value, if it has any, is no concern of the Electric Company; and no other consideration, as the whole face of England proclaims to-day, should stand in the way of commerce. In vain is it pointed out that at Barton, near Manchester, a smaller power station than that projected has destroyed all vegetation within a circuit of a mile. The Company has got Parliamentary sanction, and only Parliament can withdraw what Parliament has granted. Opposition is clamorous but impotent: the uncommercial mind of England is not yet organized enough. We bear it but do not grin.

THE EDITOR.

III. NOTES ON THE PRESS

[A summary survey of current periodicals with a view to recording useful articles which 1) expound Catholic doctrine and practice, 2) expose heresy and bigotry, and 3) are of general Catholic interest.]

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

Evolution [By the late Sir Bertram Windle in *University Catholic Review*, Summer, 1929, p. 95].

Law, St. Thomas on [Vincent McNabb, O.P., in *Blackfriars*, May 1929, p. 1047].

Mediation, Our Lady's Universal, Definable? [James A. Cleary, C.S.S.R., in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May 1929, p. 462].

Pope, The Status of the [C. C. Martindale in *University Catholic Review*, Summer, 1929, p. 91].

CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

Anglo-Modernist Scripture Commentary, The [O. R. Vassall-Phillips in *Catholic Times*, May 3, 1929, p. 14: H. Pope, O.P., in *Blackfriars*, May 1929, p. 1076: W. H. McClellan, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, May 1929, p. 518].

Barnes', Dr. N. E., atheistic "Science" [F. J. Sheen in *America*, April 27, 1929, p. 58].

Catholic Revival in Protestant Countries [Charles Mercier in *Catholic World*, May 1929, p. 212].

Evolution: a fresh change of front, against [F. Le Buffe, S.J., in *America*, April 6, 1929, p. 616: another expounder of the old shibboleths (Dr. W. K. Gregory) exposed, F. Le Buffe, S.J., in *America*, May 4, 1929, p. 85].

Geneva as an International Centre neglected by Catholics [W. Parsons, S.J., in *America*, March 9, 1929, p. 523].

"**Impuritans**" in U.S.A. [F. Talbot, S.J., in *America*, March 16, 1929, p. 555].

Popular Apologetics, The Priest and [F. McSorley, C.S.P., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, May 1929, p. 449].

POINTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

Church, The States of the [Rev. J. F. O'Doherty in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May 1929, p. 449].

Lateran Treaty [Moorhouse I. X. Millar, S.J., in *Thought*, June 1929, p. 5: J. Keating, S.J., in *Month*, June 1929, p. 481].

Literary Inactivity amongst Catholics in U.S.A. [F. Talbot, S.J., in *America*, May 18, 1929, p. 139].

Marquette Question, The: Criticism of Dr. Steck's theories [Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., in *Thought*, June 1929, p. 32].

Prohibition and Civic Loyalty [John A. Ryan, D.D., in *Commonweal*, April 3, 1929].

Windle, Sir Bertram [Henry Carr, D.S.B., in *Catholic World*, May 1929, p. 165: C. C. Martindale, S.J., in *University Catholic Review*, Summer, 1929, p. 94].

REVIEWS

I.—S. THOMAS AQUINAS¹

STUDIES and expositions of St. Thomas are being multiplied in all the languages of Europe at the present day, with the regrettable exception of English. There is, in such works, an inevitable element of sameness and repetition. There is a "classical" method of approach to St. Thomas, just as there is to Plato or Aristotle; the central points of the Thomistic system have been stereotyped and formulated by generations of commentators and historians in such a way as to leave hardly any scope for originality in their presentation. St. Thomas's thought has been framed and codified more than that of any other great thinker. Whether this makes for the interest or no of historical exposition, judgments may vary; it certainly does not make it any the easier for the historian to get back to the living mind of St. Thomas, which, after all, is the source of the only genuine Thomism.

M. Edgar de Bruyne has therefore attempted a difficult task in this latest study of the Angelic Doctor. In three sections he attempts 1) a description of the historical environment of Thomistic philosophy, 2) a delineation of the intellectual character of St. Thomas, 3) a synopsis or comprehensive view of the Thomistic synthesis. He is to be congratulated on having performed his task with excellent method and clarity. A word should also be added in praise of the candour with which certain criticisms are put forward. It is clear that with some features of St. Thomas's thought the author finds himself out of sympathy. It is both necessary and desirable that such criticisms should be freely expressed and ventilated. We think, however, that some of M. de Bruyne's criticisms of Thomistic thought cut deeper than he is aware. Thus, he finds exaggerated Realism in doctrines which are among the corner-stones of the whole philosophical edifice of St. Thomas: such a doctrine for example as that of the real distinction of matter and form in bodies (p. 100).

But, whatever may be said of particular examples, there can be no question of the value of a candid and sincere statement of such difficulties in general. And we believe that in most of the examples which he brings forward the author will find a fair number of readers to share his difficulty. The appeal in the last resort must be to the reader's own acquaintance with, and understanding of, the mind of St. Thomas.

¹ *St. Thomas d'Aquin.* Par Edgar de Bruyne. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. 355. Price, 30 fr.

2—PROGRESSIVE SCHOLASTICISM¹

THIS book is an important contribution to the neo-scholastic philosophy and to some of the most important questions of method and (as it may be called) of policy with which it is confronted in the modern age. The author is an enthusiastic and eloquent exponent of that section of opinion in the scholastic world which favours a sympathetic, rather than a merely polemical, interpretation of non-scholastic systems. St. Thomas has been styled, to the scandal of some, a great eclectic. To Dr. Bruni every great master in the history of thought has been an eclectic. There is no such thing as a system that encompasses the whole of truth; there is consequently no such thing as a system endowed with static permanency. The only permanence that any living system can aspire to is a permanence in despite of change—identity of Idea with continually varying modification in emphasis and expression. In other words every philosophy must expose itself to the vicissitudes of History.

For History, Dr. Bruni has a reverence that is almost mystical. It is to him no less than a theophany,—the incarnation of divine thoughts and designs; and we ignore or condemn its contents at our own peril. We confess that some of the passages in which these ideas are developed strike us as intemperate and exaggerated. The exaggeration is no doubt the result of a reaction against the excessively "systematic" outlook of extremely "pure" metaphysicians, such as the late Father Matiussi, S.J. Certainly, some of the scholastic critics of the modern philosophy have paid too little attention to the duty of assimilating whatever of truth is to be found in the objects of their criticism. A merely destructive attitude has too often been thought to represent the entire function of the critic. Hence a powerful protest on behalf of the historical method in criticism was called for, and Dr. Bruni will find many sympathizers in this part of his work. It is a great merit that he is throughout so vigorous, and at times so passionate, without ever once failing in courtesy. If there is exaggeration and undue simplification in the "theophany" theory of history—and only an Hegelian probably could maintain the theory with complete consistency—the practical conclusion, at least, which the theory is here employed to support, is one which is of the utmost value to scholastic philosophy. "Pure" metaphysicians there will always be, and "pure" historians too; and it would be a sad thing if either type obtained a monopoly in the Schools. We may hope that a merciful Providence will avert such a disaster. Meanwhile, from the conflict of the opposing parties, much good may accrue.

¹ By Gerardo Bruni, Ph.D. Translated by John S. Zybura, Ph.D. London—Herder. Pp. xxxviii. 18s. Price, 6s. net.

3—A COMPLETE CATECHISM¹

THE new edition in four volumes of Monsignor Hagen's adaptation of Raineri's famous catechetical Course will do much for the Christian education of the young so strongly and eloquently urged by Pope Pius the Tenth's Decree *De Christiana Doctrina Tradenda* in 1905. The four handsome volumes deal severally with The Creed, The Sacraments, The Commandments, Prayer, and the Virtues and Vices, and embody, with the adaptations necessary for English-speaking countries, Father Angelo Raineri's exhaustive elaboration of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, expounded in the Cathedral of Milan for forty years and published after his death, a new translation of the Catechism of Trent itself, which was primarily intended for the use of the clergy, and, finally, a translation of the model modern Catechism, "The Larger Catechism," compiled by order of Pius X. for use in Rome, which serves as a clear and convenient epitome of Christian Doctrine. The difficulty of effectively teaching the young the sublime truths of faith, and of grading theology to suit the various stages of immature minds is notorious. Monsignor Hagen's enterprise has lessened that difficulty, for it is a feature of Raineri's work that it presents the truths of faith in an attractive and interesting form with abundance of illustrations and practical applications. These three elements are arranged to elucidate every point of doctrine in the order indicated: moreover, as the Instructions contain much that goes beyond mere catechetical needs, the editor has made a "Homiletic Adaptation" of the material, providing the subjects for four discourses for every Sunday in the year. A full index and an historical preface give a final perfection to the volumes, which will form a very acceptable gift to the newly ordained priest, and may be welcomed even by the Jubilarian.

4—NATURE-KNOWLEDGE IN THE MIDDLE AGE²

THE first and obvious duty of a reviewer of this work is to thank Dr. Singer for the many curious and entertaining items which he has brought together from ancient sources, and very particularly for the numerous beautiful and gorgeously-coloured illustrations which embellish the text. These specimens of mediæval art are frequently of so asserting a quality that they are likely to

¹ *A Compendium of Catechetical Instruction.* Adapted and edited by Monsignor Hagen, from Raineri's "Corso di Istruzione Catechistica." Dublin: Browne & Nolan. Four volumes. Pp. 550, 548, 585, 562. Price, 15s. net each or 52s. 6d. net for the set.

² *From Magic to Science. Essays on the Scientific Twilight.* By Charles Singer M.A., M.D., D. Litt. London: Ernest Benn, 1928. Pp. 235. Price 25s. net.

prove a dangerous distraction to the perusal of the essays. Perhaps it is due to the brilliance of the plates and figures that we ourselves have found the letter-press a little uninteresting. Dr. Singer's high academical qualifications, and the opening paragraphs of his Preface led us to expect something more philosophical than we have found in his pages. "The conception that the universe is a rational system, working by discoverable laws, seems to have first appeared as a definite belief among the Ionian Greeks in the sixth century B.C. If we had records sufficient to trace the inception and early development of this idea, there would surely be few topics more fascinating or more worthy of study. Alas! the material is wanting and the history of Ionian philosophy is little but guess-work. Nevertheless, the process by which a rational conception of the world comes gradually to possess the mind is one which touches us all nearly, whatever may be our philosophy. . . . The only adequate historical record that we have of the rationalization of thought, affecting an entire civilization, is to be found in the documents which display the passage of the mediaeval into the modern way of thinking. The history of that process, when it can be written in proper perspective, should provide an absorbing theme." These words certainly appear to promise something like a contribution to the history of science in its evolution from the mediæval to the modern form; an important and interesting study, as the author rightly insists. Dr. Singer apparently lacks some of the qualifications necessary for such a task—philosophical equipment on the one hand and imaginative sympathy on the other. His comments are, indeed, surprisingly jejune. "The early morning twilight is over, the dawn is upon us and it was the risen sun that Harvey and Galileo saluted, and in the light of which Francis Bacon and Descartes did their prophesyng." This is surely the very journalese of popular science, and is the kind of rhapsody that recurs, with scarcely varying imagery, at every turn. Dr. Singer, like many another, takes his science far too solemnly. He has nothing new to say on the comparison of ancient and mediæval scientific learning with the modern; his outlook on the whole question is that which has been current in Europe since the time of Francis Bacon. He would have written a more interesting book if he had quietly taken that position for granted; it is no longer a matter of serious controversy.

It was surely a mistaken zeal, also, that made Dr. Singer adopt such a heavy-handed style in dealing with the claims of the Middle Ages to scientific honours. That they are inferior in this respect to the modern period, is almost the thesis of these essays. But, again, does any one doubt it? Is it really necessary or worth while, or quite wholesome for us to be always reminding ourselves of our superiority to our ancestors? There is something to be said for the Middle Ages even in this matter of the observational and

experimental sciences, a far better case could be made out, w fancy, than Dr. Singer is aware. But let it be granted at once, that the modern centuries have made enormous progress in this field. We shall be more likely to understand and appreciate the Middle Ages, if we do not begin by regarding them as rivals. Otherwise, we shall be in danger of tilting at windmills. There is a good deal of that futile pugnacity in these pages.

5—CÆSARIUS OF HEISTERBACH¹

HERE are few mediæval writers who have left us so complete a revelation of the mentality of contemporary monasticism as the Cistercian Cæsarius of Heisterbach. Though he does not belong to the very earliest days of the great reform propagated mainly by the arresting personality of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, still the ideals which inspired Robert and Alberic and Stephen Harding had lost little of their freshness a century later when the *Dialogue on Miracles* was compiled. In the simplest language but with a certain gift of gossiping narration Cæsarius sets out to instruct his novices by the method which was above all favoured when the majority of ascetic recruits were little more than grown-up children—the method of illustrative examples. The very selection and division of his materials throws much light upon the ideas which then most powerfully influenced men in adopting a life of austerity. There are twelve books. The first four deal more directly with the first stages in the experience of a soul which leaves the world behind in order to turn to the service of God. They are entitled "Conversion" (i.e., the decision to become a monk), "Contrition," "Confession" and "Temptation." This last has more than a hundred chapters, the others are shorter. Then follow two books which are strongly contrasted; the first ("De Dæmonibus") deals with the subtlety and malice of Satan's myrmidons, the second with "Singleness of Heart," that virtue which most effectively secured the monk against the devil's assaults. The six remaining books are devoted to such miraculous examples as might best encourage the waverer or terrify him into fidelity to his vows. They are respectively entitled: "Of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (a collection of *Marienlegenden*), "Of Divers Visions," "The Body and Blood of Christ," "Of Miracles," "Concerning the Dying," "The Punishment and Glory of the Dead." Many of these stories reveal in an extreme form the credulity, and, we fear one must add in some cases, the superstition, of the mediæval monk. We are, however, for once in full agreement with Dr. Coulton when he tells us that Cæsarius's "whole

¹ *The Dialogue on Miracles*. Translated by H. von E. Scott and C. Swinton Bland, with an Introduction by G. G. Coulton, General Editor of the Series. Two Vols. G. Routledge and Sons. Pp. xx. 546 and 374, with Illustrations. Price 36s. 1929.

book is essentially truthful, even where we condemn its facts as untrue; the things may not always be *vera* in detail, but the author is uniformly *verax*."

The translation has been executed by two different people: it was first undertaken by the Rev. H. Scott and, after his death, was completed and passed through the Press by Mr. Swinton Bland. In the interests of the student of mediæval monasticism the transfer to other hands is much to be regretted, for the later translator proves himself quite curiously ignorant of ecclesiastical technicalities and often wanting, so it seems to us, in ordinary common sense. To take a single instance which on account of its brevity is convenient to quote, Cæsarius, in Bk. XI., ch. 2, speaks of the holy death of a certain monk named Meiner, and mentions of him, as a remarkable example of his fervour, that even when he had to go abroad on business he often managed to recite *duo psalteria*, i.e., the whole 150 psalms twice over, in the course of a day. Mr. Bland renders this: "They say of him that when abroad on business it was his practice to repeat two psalms each day." That this is not a mere misprint is clear from p. 315 in the same Vol. II., where a soul from purgatory begs that *unum psalterium* may be said for her and she is represented here as crying aloud: "Say for me at least one psalm." But there are unfortunately very many such blunders which in some cases completely travesty the sense of the passage. Mr. Bland is thanked by his editor in the preface for "a great deal of hard work in proof-reading and general revision." If Mr. Bland had chanced to be a Catholic translator no words in Dr. Coulton's copious vocabulary would have been deemed by him too strong to denounce the writer's carelessness in passing blunders which any child would be able to correct—e.g., "when the reception and *absolution* were over," instead of ablution (II. 117); "he placed the *head* upon the chalice," for bread (II. 162); "*their* died last year" for there (II. 185), etc., etc. Taken as a whole, the translation reads smoothly enough. The drawback is that, in the case of the later books at any rate, one can never feel satisfied of the accuracy of the rendering without consulting the Latin original.

H.T.

6—EARLY CHURCH HISTORY IN THE ANTIPODES¹

FATHER ERIS O'BRIEN has already published "The Life and Letters of Archpriest Therry," relating the actual foundation of the Catholic Church in Australia. The two magnificent volumes here noticed concern the years immediately preceding

¹ *The Dawn of Catholicism in Australia.* By Rev. Eris M. O'Brien. 2 vols. Pp. xx. 231; viii, 235. Sydney: Angus and Robertson. London: The Australian Book Co.

the arrival of that first officially recognized priest. He proposes to relate in a further book, "The Eve of Catholicism," the story of the earliest years of all. In this way a connected view of one of the greatest romances of the century just past will be laid before readers, and not only will that romance be set forth in colours more vivid than anyone living in our drab era might have hoped, but many a perspective that was forming itself, and tended to be false, will have been corrected.

Let us at once say that the author has been tireless in his research, and that his method is fully scientific. Perhaps we might wish that his feelings were rather more kindly towards nearly everyone who figures in his book! Father O'Flynn, whose doings occupy so much of this one, must have been in many ways intolerable to deal with; and even Father Therry, who bulks large in the previous work, must have been very "difficult." The authorities in England were possessed, we may agree, with a wrong ideal as to the whole nature of their colony in New Holland—for has anyone the right to create what is intended to be and remain a convict colony? Yet, at their enormous distance, and given the impossibility of receiving quick information and the overwhelming improbability of receiving truthful information, and the proverbial lack of imagination which has made part of the very strength of the British, even they, like O'Flynn or Therry, and the distracted governor Macquarie, bidden to apply an autocratic system of military rule that he was not free to change, might perhaps be judged with rather more human kindness than the author can supply. Or rather, his actual judgments are balanced and prudent: but, while reaching them, he seems to us to be swayed too often by too much sheer dislike. And his corrections of the mistakes of his predecessors seems to us at times rather acid.

Having said this, and added that perhaps he juxtaposes masses of documentary material rather than fuses it, we can insist that this book makes history as well as records it, and cannot be disregarded by any writer, Catholic or not, who wishes to form an estimate of Australia. Dare we make one ourselves? Hardly. England, Ireland, Australia herself have changed profoundly since the days recorded in this book. Possibly nothing in her past enables us to foresee Australia's future. The development both of the Dominion and of the Church therein have been astounding: will that development continue? Much seems against it. Of one thing we may be sure, that the virtues of the period written about by Father O'Brien are those which will be needed if Australia is to prosper; many of the vices of those old days seem dying out—may no new ones replace them! What is certain is, that Australia (and we are sure that the author will agree), having had such an history, must grow up according to her own law of

life; neither struggling to import our fashions—even good!—nor admitting our quarrels, always bad. In this way the best paradox will be realized—she will have a culture of her own, and yet a culture that is hereditary and European. No one is so naïf as to suppose that a culture can be created out-of-hand and must contain nothing that is hereditary; no one so childish as to think that a culture can be simply transplanted. In this true development, that we pray for Australia, the Catholic Church alone can play an adequate part. For her culture is far wider, more profound and more spiritual than any other—indeed, at present her rivals, all of them, are making for disintegration. Hence all the more we welcome this history of a past still living in the present, and we hope that it will extend its noble energy into the far future.

C.C.M.

7—RELIGION WITHOUT GOD¹

THIS work is a companion volume to Dr. Sheen's excellent essay "God and Intelligence," in which some of the main tendencies of modern, anti-metaphysical philosophy were analysed and subjected to criticism. The method of the two books is very similar. We find in this treatise the same wide acquaintance with modern thought, especially English and American, the same skill and clarity in exposition, the same sympathetic regard for ways of thinking which are not the author's own, that made the preceding volume so remarkable a contribution to Catholic apologetics. The two works between them constitute a very complete and masterly handling of a single theme.

That theme may be described very briefly in the formula: "Reason the Foundation of Religion." To very many of our contemporaries, the relation of Intellect to Religion is almost purely negative. Intellect may obstruct the development of spiritual life, it cannot really aid in the discovery of those truths by which the soul must live. It is by something else—by a leap of intuition, or by some sublimation of cosmic emotion, or by the pragmatic method of trial and error—that man is able, if at all, to define for himself a more or less permanent attitude towards the Unknowable. This is Religion without God, and without Truth. The votaries of these philosophies would protest vigorously, no doubt, against such a description. But surely there is no truth where nothing is held as fixed and certain either in the principles or conclusions of the intellect. It may be more acceptable to the anti-intellectualists to describe their conception as the Value-Theory of Religion, the doctrine that all that can be directly known of metaphysical ideas is their value as elements of

¹ *Religion without God*. By Fulton J. Sheen, Ph.D., S.T.D. London: Longmans. Pp. 359. Price, 15s. net.

culture. Psychological enrichment and comfort then become the sole criterion. Objective truth is barred out from the start.

In face of the many comfortable assurances that modern thought is moving towards a more spiritual goal than formerly, it is well to keep before us the precise limitations of such spirituality; and such a work as this of Dr. Sheen is specially valuable because it brings out the latent principles of the whole movement. The best description of the modern standpoint is Prof. James's phrase "Radical Empiricism." It is no new thing of course, in Philosophy, and perhaps Dr. Sheen should have pointed out that the Epicureans professed and practised exactly the same contempt of logic as our modern pragmatists. And before Epicurus, the same tendency was manifested in some of the Hindu systems.

Now, with Radical Empiricism it is quite true that a certain kind of spiritualism is entirely compatible. One need not believe in atoms and a mechanical universe as the result of such a method. One can always take refuge from materialism in psychology; and this is just what our modern empiricists do. For them, the primary object of interest (and, therefore, the primary seat of reality) is the world of consciousness; consciousness as a living activity and process, the actual feeling and thinking and willing of individual men. Religion, science, art, morality—everything has "its being, its value and its significance within that process. It is therefore possible—with some forcing of language, indeed, but with great superficial plausibility—to contrive an account of these things which shall entirely ignore or treat as unknowable, the realities with which they profess to deal. This is called the Method of Immanence, but to those who habitually employ it, it is something more than a method—it is a dogma. To the normally-constituted, logical mind, such a dogma must inevitably develop into, if it do not actually spring from, Pantheism. Religion, on such a footing, can never be anything more than a kind of Monologue of the Ego with the Ego. Hence, Prof. James's definition of Religion has been accepted by many modern writers as the last word in psychological precision. "Religion . . . shall mean for us the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they consider the divine." What man considers to be Divine will, of course, be nothing absolute; it will depend altogether on his environment, his heredity, his personal bias. It certainly need not be anything existent. James's God was a being *in potentia* rather than in act. If men believed, there was some faint possibility that their very belief might bring God into existence. Such is the final issue of anti-intellectualism in one of its most stalwart representatives.

It would be beyond our present scope to consider any of the other distinguished names which have given a certain prestige to this School. They are nearly all admirable writers. In fact, the future historians of philosophy will perhaps classify them rather as rhetoricians than as thinkers.

It is some extenuation of the errors of the anti-intellectualist school, when we remember the type of intellectualism against which they reacted. Hegel and Bradley must bear their share of the blame. In the second part of his work, Dr. Sheen successfully shows that the true answer to the Pragmatist and anti-intellectualist difficulty is to be found in a return to Scholastic Realism.

J.B.

8—THE TRIAL OF KING CHARLES I.¹

ALL readers who are interested in the Stuarts will be grateful to Mr. J. G. Muddiman for this very painstaking, accurate, and on the whole convincing essay. Lord Birkenhead, who contributes a Foreword to the volume, says no more than the truth when he tells us that the author's "knowledge of the period and his indefatigable research make the present book by far the most authoritative and documented survey that has yet been published." In one respect Mr. Muddiman renders a service to the cause of scientific historical method which goes beyond the subject with which he is here immediately concerned. We are convinced with him that no historian dealing with the 17th and 18th centuries can afford to ignore the early periodical literature, and in particular the "news-books" and the pamphlets of the epoch under consideration. These sources of information may have to be used with discretion, but they give, as nothing else can do, the background and the point of view of contemporary thought. They supply a key to the dates and the sequence of events which is hardly ever in fault, while over and over again a number of details are made known in this current gossip which throw a completely new light upon motives of action. It is regrettable that too often vital factors of this sort have been overlooked or even deliberately suppressed in more pretentious histories. Of these out-of-the-way sources of information Mr. Muddiman possesses an unrivalled mastery, and he has had abundant opportunity of turning it to account in the volume now before us.

We cannot attempt to recapitulate the narrative of the trial of the "royal martyr" as it is here recounted from sources strangely neglected by those mainly responsible for that partisan version of the story which has become academic during the last half century.

¹ *Trial of King Charles the First.* Edited by J. G. Muddiman, M.A. With a foreword by the Earl of Birkenhead. Edinburgh and London: William Hodge & Co. Pp. xviii—282. Price, 10s. 6d. net. 1929.

Mr. Muddiman draws largely upon "Bradshawe's Journal," which he reprints entire with other valuable first-hand documents in his appendices. Perhaps our author, as a Catholic and partisan of the Stuarts, is himself a little inclined to strain the inferences which he draws from the evidence submitted, but on the other hand he is abundantly justified in suggesting that there has been much unfairness in the treatment accorded to Charles by recent historians of high standing. The exposure of such men as Henry Walker, John Cook, and Bradshawe himself was badly needed, and the reader will find at every turn new facts and interesting anecdotes which will appeal not only to the general public but to the specialist who is well acquainted with 17th century history. A number of illustrations, including some portraits excellently reproduced, add to the attractiveness of the volume.

H.T.

SHORT NOTICES.

BIBLICAL.

WE have already noticed four volumes, and now are faced with two more, of Dr. Harold Smith's *Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels* S.P.C.K.: Vol. V., 7s. 6d.; Vol. VI., 6s.), so that we have little new to say of this astonishing production. It provides a welcome opportunity of having a vast amount of Ante-Nicene exegesis accessible in good English, and we congratulate publishers and editor upon the completion of the work. We confess to a surfeit of Origen, who is verbose and not very helpful, and would have been glad to see some other writers quoted more freely, for example Justin Martyr and others who deal with the Holy Eucharist (Vol. V., p. 280); the only clear testimony to the Real Presence here given is from Irenaeus, but such paucity of quotation does not give a true idea of Ante-Nicene exegesis on this point. In view of the hypothesis, adopted in the Appendix to Mark in the Westminster Version, that Christ at the Last Supper did not celebrate a Jewish Passover, it is interesting to have a positive and explicit statement from Hippolytus to that effect (Vol. V., p. 204). A reflection that comes to us in perusing these pages is that the puzzles of Gospel exegesis are seldom confined to one epoch. Tertullian labours to explain the idiom "Ye say it" in Luke xxii. 70 against Marcion's perversion (Vol. VI., pp. 23-24), and Origen is as puzzled by the reference to Jeremiah in Matt. xxvii. 9 as he is by the promise of "to-day in Paradise" to the Good Thief in Luke xxiii. 43 (*ibid.*, pp. 32, 64-65).

In a series of studies reprinted from *La Scuola Cattolica* under the title *I Sinottici del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento nella loro composizione* (Marietti: 5.50 l.), Father Vannutelli is mainly concerned to press the analogy between the mutual relations of the Synoptic Gospels on the one hand and of those between the four books of Kings (Samuel and Kings) and the book of Paralipomena (Chronicles) on the other. No doubt some such analogies will always be found where there is any sort of connection through sources; but the particular parallel which Father

Vannutelli is urging is of so slight a character that it seems to us utterly misleading to speak of "the Old Testament Synoptists." The Synoptic Gospels were written while the living tradition was still vigorous, and may have relied chiefly upon it; whereas Paralipomena are separated by a long interval both from the events they narrate and from the first two books of Kings (*i.e.*, the books of Samuel), which they may well be using as a source. In spite of some interesting matters of detail, we cannot think that our author is pursuing a profitable line of investigation.

The Biblical Institute is to be congratulated on the appearance of another fascicle of its *Institutiones Biblicæ Scholis Accommodatae*. This the first part of volume two, is from the pen of Father Augustine Bea, S.J., of the professorial staff of the Institute, and deals with the Pentateuch (Roma, e Pontificio Istituto Biblico. Pp. vi. 188. Price not given). The bulk of the work (pp. 10—115) is devoted to a competent and able study of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The modern arguments against its antiquity are subjected to a very careful analysis and are shown not to be convincing. His own explanation of the literary peculiarities of the Pentateuch (pp. 105—115) add great weight to the negative arguments adduced against the radical hypotheses of the so-called critical school, as it is shown that the complex phenomena of the Pentateuch are consistent with its substantial Mosaic authorship. Thus the diversities of style are due to the fact that Moses was in certain parts the editor only of ancient material, written and oral, and that his manner of composition naturally varied, even in the parts of which he was the immediate author, according as the passages are narrative, legal, or exhortatory. The suggested explanation of these diversities of style by the use by Moses of different secretaries is not favoured by Father Bea for the reason that in his opinion the phenomena are adequately accounted for without it. The second section of the book presents a treatment of outstanding questions in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, a note on the chronology, and a discussion of the Messianic prophecies of the Pentateuch. From the apologetic as distinguished from the dogmatic standpoint the treatment of the Protoevangelium is hardly satisfactory. It may be noticed that the reason alleged (p. 170) against the collective interpretation of the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent is based on the *interpretatio distributiva* of the same phrases. The letter "yod" is not consistently transliterated. The letter "y" is the better equivalent (p. 136 n. 2) because it corresponds correctly in the majority of European languages. In other passages (p. 37) it is transliterated by "j" which in most languages has a quite different sound.

MORAL.

The treatise *De Virtute Castitatis et de Vitiis Oppositis* (Beyaert, Bruges: 12.50 fr.) is an admirable exposition of a very complicated subject. Father Wouters, C.S.S.R., the author, displays the rare qualities of dealing with one thing at a time, of defining his terms, and of using them consistently. He has, therefore, written a book that will be greatly valued by students. He is, of course, a faithful follower of St. Alphonsus. The reviewer would have been glad if the note on pp. 94-95 were more

convincing, and also if an explanation of some words of St. Thomas (p. 73, note) had been given. But these are matters for the student not for the general reader. Particularly helpful are two appendices on instruction in sex matters for the young and for the married. The latter instruction is printed in seven modern languages, and will be of great help to a confessor for matters which he would rather were read than explained verbally. We have not only read this treatise but have used it assiduously, and so we recommend it to all students of Moral and Pastoral theology.

DEVOTIONAL.

There are few saints more practical in their outlook on spirituality than St. Jane Frances de Chantal; on that account her teaching, in one form or another, is constantly being reproduced. *Saint Jane Frances Frémoyot de Chantal, Her Exhortations, Conferences, and Instructions* (Loyola University Press, Chicago, Ill.: \$3.00) is a revised translation from the French edition printed in 1875. As we are reminded in the Preface, Saint Jane Frances left little or nothing of her own in writing; these instructions, for the most part, are made from notes taken down by those who heard them. None the less, they are vividly alive, full of a knowledge of human nature. The translation, for the most part good, at times seems to cling too much to the French original: "See you, my Sisters," is presumably the substitute for "Voyez-vous, mes Sœurs." Occasionally, too, there is a little ambiguity. For instance, we scarcely think any saint would endorse, or any theologian approve, the following sentence as it stands: "When we feel resentment, or have a desire to take revenge, we must humble ourselves before God and look upon it as a product of our evil nature, and then let our feelings grumble as much as they will, for you commit no imperfection if you do not say what your nature leads you to say." Perhaps St. Jane Frances said: "No matter how much our feelings may grumble, still," etc. There is such a thing as internal fault, even though one does not speak.

Along with this larger work we have to notice two small volumes, *Mystical Prayer according to St. Jane de Chantal*, and *Mystical Prayer according to St. Francis de Sales*, both translated from the French of M. le Chanoine Saudreau, by A. E. H. Swinstead (Sheed and Ward: 2s. 6d. each). The originals of these little books appeared as articles in *La Vie Spirituelle*. Obviously in tiny volumes of 92 and 59 pages respectively, only the barest outline of the teaching of these saints is given; but there are useful quotations, and the translation is good. Perhaps we may be allowed to suggest that the price seems to us somewhat extravagant. We do not see why the two little volumes should not have been combined into one; the more so that in one we are more than once referred to the other.

Mother Mary Loyola has lost nothing of her gift for writing brightly and effectively upon spiritual subjects. This last little book of hers, *Trust* (Sheed and Ward: 5s. n.), dealing with a virtue which is sadly neglected even by good people in these materialistic days, has a very practical aim. Those whose privilege it has been to have had any personal intercourse with the writer will know how fully her teaching has been tested by experience; but even apart from that there is a force of conviction behind her words which cannot but impress even the most despairing or the

most indifferent. As in all her other books Mother Loyola constantly enlivens her exhortations with little telling anecdotes and allusions to current events. Her references to the problem of our elementary schools and the need for resolute Catholic action are very much in place at the present moment.

LITURGICAL.

Students of the Liturgy will welcome **The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy** (S.P.C.K.: 7s. 6d.), edited by Dr. Harden, now the Protestant Bishop of Tuam, who has already brought out through the S.P.C.K. a valuable edition of St. Jerome's Latin translation of the Hebrew Psalter, *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*. The present work inspires a like confidence, even while it contains some damaging criticisms of its most important predecessor in English, Dr. Mercer's *The Ethiopic Liturgy* (e.g., pp. 15, 58, 60). Needless to say the Real Presence is strongly asserted (especially p. 43). Dr. Harden writes (p. 16) that the words of institution are contained in all the Anaphoras, but we have failed to find any sufficient consecration in that of James of Serug, though we are ready to believe that it was there. The word *Anaphora* we may roughly render the "Canon" of the Mass; it changed according to the feasts, etc. There are other points of interest, such as the use of the reading "My Body, which is *broken* for you" in the words of consecration (p. 35), the reading used also by the Greeks, and the mention of "the 144,000 holy babes" (p. 33), whom we take to be the Holy Innocents, whom some have not allowed to attain to double figures. Thoughts of sadness may also arise, at the unsatisfactory condition of the Abyssinian Church, or the growing distance which separates Anglican scholars from the works they edit—not that there is any indication of these things in the present book.

CANON LAW.

In **Commentarium Lovaniense: Prolegomena**, Vol. I., Tom. I. (Dessain) we have the beginnings of a full-dress commentary on the Code of Canon Law to be written by members of the University of Louvain. Canon Van Hove is the author of the *Prolegomena*. In it he deals very thoroughly with such introductory subjects as the idea of law and its various forms, the organs from which church laws proceed, the documents which contain the record of them, the history of the study of canon law, and, finally, the establishment of the Code, and the commission for its interpretation. The treatment of each subject is full and yet concise: it would be hard, for instance, to find a better Summary on the False Decretals than the one given here. The list of books mentioned at the beginning of each section must be pretty well complete: the number of books actually referred to is surprisingly great. This is certainly a book for the serious student of Canon Law.

With this volume—**Legislation on the Sacraments in the New Code of Canon Law** (Longmans: 12s. 6d.) by the Very Rev. H. A. Ayrinhac—the author completes his commentary on the Code and the Sacraments; having previously dealt with the legislation on marriage. The whole is the work of a competent and well-read Canonist and is strongly recommended to the clergy. Each section has an historical introduction,

which, though short, is generally sufficient to give a proper background to the present-day law.

Special praise is due to what is said about giving the necessary Sacraments to baptized dying heretics, to the treatment of First Communion, to the question of Masses to be said for dead Protestants, to the account of the law relating to the liturgical services on the last days of Holy Week and the discussion of various cases that may arise in that connection, to the explanation of the law on the Seal of Confession—his explanation of the force of the pre-Code instruction of the Holy Office on that matter is especially interesting—to the giving of Sacramental penance, and to reserved cases. When Dr. Ayrimac says (p. 242) that the previous consultation ordered in Canon 895, before cases are reserved by a bishop is necessary for the validity of the Act of reservation, he makes an interesting point which is in full agreement with Canon 105. Special attention may also be directed to the account of the title of ordination and of irregularities. On the matter, however, of the proper subject of Extreme Unction, it would have been clearer to have given explicitly the common interpretation of the Council of Trent, viz., any member of the Church who is in *probable* danger of death through sickness and is capable of sinning. In dealing with vocation to the priesthood it would have been most useful to have stated the principles clearly laid down in the work "La Vocation Sacerdotale" of Canon Lahiton, which received striking approval from the Holy See.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL.

Mme Lucie Delarue-Mardrus' biography of *Sainte Thérèse of Lisieux* (Longmans: 7s. 6d. n.), translated by Helen Younger Chase, is not just another of the somewhat too numerous "Lives," which evince at once the popularity of the Saint and the self-confidence of her biographers, but stands in a class by itself as the work of one who, in her own words, is "a Catholic without religion," "an unbeliever," "a lover of art yet without faith." And naturally the first thing which strikes this highly artistic mind about the cultus of the Saint is the sad results of the influence of faith without art. In the style of M. Huysmans writing on Lourdes, and seemingly with much of his justification, this lover of Ste Thérèse deplores the tawdriness of her shrine at Lisieux, the commercial exploitation of her popularity, the actual distortion of her simple, grave, austere graciousness by sugared sentimentality. How is it, she asks in effect, that the Faith which inspired Chartres does not repudiate the cheap vulgarity of what in England is called "Repository Art"? There is an answer to this problem but there is no space for it here. For the rest, considering her limitations, Mme Mardrus succeeds in penetrating to the core of her subject's character. It will be strange if Ste Thérèse does not repay her devotion; as she, indeed, repaid the devotion of Mr. Michael Williams, who contributes a long and illuminating Introduction, and who also at one time, as readers of his exquisite spiritual biography, *The High Romance*, know, pursued art without faith until the vision of the little Carmelite brought him understanding. It seems to us that Mme Mardrus must face this dilemma—the virtues which she so cordially appreciates and

which have captivated the world, are based either on a splendid reality or on a pitiful illusion. If their foundation is unreal, then Ste Thérèse is a deluded fanatic and more to be pitied than admired. Is her loving client prepared to admit that?

HISTORICAL.

In *Chigwell* (B.O. & W.: 3s. 6d.) Father Dominic Devas, O.F.M., gives us a brightly written, highly interesting account of a Congregation which has a long official title of its own, but which is popularly and affectionately known under the name of its Novitiate House in Essex. As "The Chigwell Nuns" their late Cardinal Protector, Cardinal Gasquet, speaks of them in his Foreword, agreeing with the author of the book who can confirm the correctness of a local title with such splendid precedents as the Cistercians, the Carthusians, and the Camaldoles. Founded in France in 1868, the first Sisters came to England in 1870, where their development, under the manifest providence of God, was so wonderful that it was thought well by Cardinal Vaughan in 1903 that the English Province should be erected into a separate and independent Institute. The history of the Chigwell Nuns from 1870 to 1903 is a part, and a very interesting part, of the history of the Catholic Church in England.

We have read with great interest *Allegiance in Church and State* (Routledge: 6s.), a study of the Problem of the Non-jurors in the English Revolution, by Miss L. M. Hawkins. It is her "thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London." It has stirred in us mixed feelings, many of which the author will never have intended. In the first place, if ever we need a proof that Protestantism, or, if some prefer it, Anglicanism, has never been at rest in England, we have it here. It has been continually compelled, by force of circumstances, to shift its ground, to alter its definitions, to reinterpret its principles; giving an ever different meaning to the same terms, and by that fallacy always reasserting its consistency. Secondly, if ever Bellarmine needed an historical vindication of his case against James I., he has it here; it is to be regretted that the author has not, apparently, studied Bellarmine. Thirdly, we wonder whether Mr. Belloc's recent study of James II. would help her to modify her views concerning that monarch, and still more those about him. The thesis may be called an historical enquiry into the causes which have led up to the recent controversies, and which may lead yet further to Disestablishment. Miss Hawkins shows that the problem to-day is not different from that of 1688; but in 1688 it was solved in quite another manner from what is possible to-day. Needless to say, it is a work that proves much original research and careful synthesis.

"It is good to remember" (said an "Anglo-Catholic" preacher near Birmingham, on Whit-Sunday), "that in all the changes that took place in those troublous years, 1532 to 1570, the English people worshipped in the same churches, were taught the same Faith, and received the same sacraments. Let us thank God for our Catholic continuity and be true to it." It was to expose shameless and preposterous claims like these, repudiated by the bulk of honest Anglicans and by all reputable historians,

that Lady Catherine Ashburnham was inspired to compile the exceedingly telling little book which she calls *The Witness of the Martyrs* (Sheed and Ward: 3s. 6d.). The Elizabethan Martyrs—these alone are considered, since it was Elizabeth who founded Anglicanism—laid down their lives rather than abandon the Catholic Faith in favour of the apostate Queen's *new* religion. What perversity of prejudice is it to tell us that these heroic folk perished because they were mistaken in thinking that Anglicanism, in creed, worship, jurisdiction and discipline was a radical departure from the old religion! H.E. the Cardinal in a Foreword shows how false were the political charges which were sometimes the pretext of the death-sentence. There were few cases where apostasy would not have purchased pardon and even reward. The historical course of the change of Faith is traced by Father Joseph Keating, S.J., in an Introduction, which brings together many valuable testimonies from Anglicans themselves to the truth of the book's contention. But no logical disquisition can equal in value and force the simple disclaimers of those dauntless folk who faced a felon's doom rather than deny their Catholic Faith. After reading this most touching and inspiring record, it is hard to be patient with the smug obscurantism of those descendants of the persecutors who would now deny to their victims their glorious crown.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

There are some saints' lives so full that they cannot be condensed; of these perhaps none more than the life of St. Bernard. This is the criticism we would offer of *St. Bernard de Clairvaux*, by Paul Miterre (Lannoy, Gouval, Belgique: 13fr.). The author has set out to provide in short compass on account of the saint in his surroundings, for such readers as have neither time nor inclination to study larger lives such as that of Vacandard. The historical chapters are well done, but the chapters on the saint himself, compressed often to four pages each, seem to us to be too short to be of much service. Still as a summary of a life of a maker of world-history the book will be useful to many.

The cult of the child-saint, stimulated by the canonization of St. Thérèse, continues unabated in France, with many pleasing results. In *Derniers Souvenirs de Guy de Fontgalland, 1913-1925* (Bonne Presse), we meet again a child of whom much has already been written, and whom one biographer has called "the Angel missionary." Along with this brochure is another, *Deux Enfants: Notes et Souvenirs recueillis par une Amie* (Bonne Presse), containing the life-story of Auguste and Marguerite L., each of whom died at thirteen years of age. They are booklets which, it would seem, only French authors can write; they contain a blending of sanctity, and pathos, and tragedy, and delight which no other language seems able to express.

We have already had occasion to notice the work of A. Lugan, a prominent figure in the world of the new French Catholic journalism. In *Horizon d'Ames* (Monde Nouveau: 9fr.), we find him making rapid sketches of many characters, past and present, and of very varied surroundings. Among them are Jammes, Maurras, Coloma the Spanish Jesuit novelist, Ozanam, Cardinals Gibbons, Aurette, Mercier. Some are

almost too rapid and too short to make any deep impression on a foreign reader; still all are full of life and colour, and show an author who is awake to all that is best in the men whom he has met or has had occasion to study.

It would be difficult to find anything more intimate than *Novissima Verba; the Last Conversations of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus, May-September, 1897* (B.O. & W.: 2s. and 3s.). During the saint's last painful illness it was naturally the custom of her sisters, along with the other nuns, to visit her often and watch with her. One of these, now Rev. Mother Agnes of Jesus, made notes of her conversations, as a loving sister might. She has now been persuaded to publish these notes exactly as she wrote them. They go to confirm all we know of that strangely strong soul, in whom, in a peculiar way, the natural and the supernatural are intertwined.

It seems a strange thing, but nevertheless it seems to be true, that the life of St. John of the Cross still remains to be written. Few saints have been more misunderstood; few have been more distorted; even his writings, familiar as they are to most students of asceticism and mysticism, are interpreted to all kinds of purposes. In *L'Ame ardente de St. Jean de la Croix* (Desclée: 10 fr.) Abbé Rodolphe Hoornaert, a life-long student of the saint, has attempted to give us, not a life, but a character sketch which should considerably help the reader to form a right idea of the author of the "Dark Night," and the "Spiritual Canticle." It is indeed a living study, showing us a man refined at every point, with a blaze of enthusiasm burning him up even before he started on his great adventure.

LITERARY.

Mr. Wordsworth's *Adventures in Literature* (Heath Cranton: 12s. 6d. net) cover a wide field. The book consists of essays on the *Paradiso* of Dante, the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, and a study, partly hostile, partly appreciative, of the plays of Euripides. The criticism is both interesting and learned. Mr. Wordsworth has essayed the difficult task of translating the passage selected from the *Paradiso* in *terza rima* and he may be congratulated on his success. The problem here is to vary the line so as to avoid monotony, drag, and those devices like inversion which are the stumbling-blocks of translators. Euripides is dealt with trenchantly enough. Mr. Swinburne would have approved; Mr. Gilbert Murray might protest. It is easy to parody the rhetoric and sophistry of some speeches and exhibit the "most tragic" of dramatists as a crank. One asks oneself sometimes if any modern scholar, even a Wilamowitz-Moellendorff or a Murray, has that perfect sense of Greek which would justify such confident criticism. How many Englishmen, we may ask, can fully appreciate Racine?

Nothing could better illustrate the wide appeal of Dante to all sorts and conditions of men than a collection of favourite citations, called *My Favourite Passage from Dante*, compiled, with an introduction, by John T. Slattery, Ph.D. (The Devin-Adair Company: \$3.75 n.). Four hundred authors "bring Dante home to everybody," say the publishers. Here indeed is a great cloud of witnesses, each with his preference. The

discriminating reader will know how to pick his way, and, without rejecting the authority of the "men and women whose names live daily in the press and in their works," as the "jacket" puts it, will look rather to the reasons given for this choice or that. These are generally interesting and sometimes illuminating and impressive. It was good for example to read once again Carlyle's vivid phrases and to wonder anew at the strange tribute of reverent admiration to the greatest of Catholic poets from a son of the Covenanters. Sometimes, however, the comments are a little naïve. For instance—

"Nessun maggior dolore Che ricordarsi del tempo felice Nella miseria."

Comment: "Most sad but how true."—Sir Alexander Mackenzie, London, England.

The choice of so many, and those among the most competent, of the Death of Ulysses in the 25th Canto of the *Inferno* is noteworthy. This famous passage has been worthily rendered in the metre of the original by Mr. Arthur Symons. All lovers of Dante and of Literature will be grateful to Dr. Slattery for this interesting compilation.

Religion y Cultura (Junio y Julio, 1928, Madrid.). This is a special centenary number of this high-class magazine in honour of the four hundredth anniversary of Fray Luis de Leon, the great Spanish lyric poet. Exhaustive studies of the poet's life and work in its literary, theological and historical aspects, together with an ample bibliography, make this centenary number a worthy monument to one of the chief glories of Catholic and Spanish literature.

FICTION.

The Cloudy Porch (Sands: 6s. n.), by Constance Mary Le Plastrier, opens somewhat conventionally with a ghostly Cornish mansion in a storm about which are gathered the usual paraphernalia of tragedy—a wicked usurper, a disinherited son, fierce quarrels about love affairs, even murder—and the plot is needlessly intricate in consequence. But when the story moves to Australia where the scene is mostly laid, we have something more natural and charming. Life in the bush, and the characteristic scenery of that sunny land are described evidently at first hand, and well described, as too are the various personages and conversations. On the whole a very pleasant and successful story.

Mr. Condé B. Pallen, like other poets and philosophers, turns occasionally to lighter things, by way, perhaps, of relaxation. So we have another novel from his pen, **Ghost-House** (Harding and More: 5s.), a combination of ghost and detective story, in which he elaborates an idea to which Mgr. Benson and others have given a certain vogue, viz., that the material objects amidst which intense emotion has been displayed retain some sort of impression thereof, which is capable of being recovered by a properly attuned personality. We shall not disclose how cleverly Mr. Pallen extends this notion, but the result is a haunting mystery in every sense. Racy dialogue, humour and a love interest carry the story briskly along.

In **Wild Parsley** (B.O. & W.: 7s. 6d.) Mrs. Margaret Yeo has deserted historical themes and written a novel of modern life, with the last year of the war as a background and setting. We find, as we expect, vivid

colouring and brisk dialogue: but perhaps a little too much animal passion, for many of the characters are mere heathens and hedonists, and the good do not benefit altogether by their association. However, the true ideal is kept steadfastly in view, and the vanity of all things, not founded on right relations with God, is made abundantly clear.

The synopsis given of *The Disinherited* (Longmans: 7s. 6d.) on the dust-coat is extraordinarily concise and complete. The story, admirably told by Mr. Milton Waldman, presents a problem of absorbing interest. To what extent can a Jew be assimilated by another creed without sacrificing his heritage? Is it true that a Jew is born with a religion which he never really loses? That in his case race and religion are interwoven and inseparable? The hero, for forty years scarcely conscious of his Semitic origin, discovers it, and after the bitterest experiences flees to Jerusalem to seek the solution of his divided allegiance. His ethical views are in the main beyond reproach; but when sorely tempted to leave his unsympathetic wife for a Jewish divorcee, he should not have said "The act [*i.e.*, adultery] is not reprehensible, but it indicates a deliberate rejection of those necessary circumstances whereby alone one is able to trace his connection with the great pattern of the universe": this is a bit of muddleheaded thinking in the midst of many lucid reflections. The description of some synagogue services, with extracts from the liturgy, is finely done, and the contrast with the Mass, with which he is also in sympathy, is a telling feature in a deeply-thoughtful novel.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Miss Aileen M. Clegg, in her book *Lourdes* (Téqui, Paris: 9.00 fr.; Sheed and Ward, London: 1s. 6d.), has achieved the well-nigh impossible feat of giving freshness and interest to an oft-told story. And this she has done, not only by showing a real sense of what is of importance in the history of the Shrine, but also by writing of what she herself experienced, with keenness and humour. A capital book for pilgrims by land or by imagination.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

ABBEY PRESS, Fort Augustus.
Trinity Sunday. By Dom R. Alexander, O.S.B. Pp. 42. Price, 1s.

ALLEN & UNWIN, London.
The International Community and the Right of War. By Don L. Sturzo. Pp. 293. Price, 10s. n.

BEAUCHESNE, Paris.
Syrie: Proche-Orient. By H. Charles, S.J. Illustrated. Pp. 116. Price, 10.00 fr. *La Limitation des Naissances*. By Dr. R. de Guchtencere. Pp. 238. Price, 12.00 fr.

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE, London.
In Memory of Me. By J. L. Forster, S.J. Pp. xiii. 299. Price, 4s. 6d. *The Story of Blessed John Fisher*. By N. M. Wilby. Pp. viii. 184. Price, 3s. 6d. *About the Old Testament*. By Most Rev. A. Goodier, S.J. Pp. viii. 196. Price, 4s. 6d. *Russia under the Red Flag*. By C. M. Godden. Pp. vi. 194. Price, 4s. 6d. *The Jubilee Indulgence*. By Rev. E. J. Mahoney, D.D. Pp. xix. 63. Price, 8d.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
Studies in Eusebius. By J. Stevenson. Pp. 145. Price, 6s. n.

C.T.S., London, and of Ireland.
Many Twopenny Pamphlets and Reprints.

CONSTABLE, London.
The Tree of Life: an Anthology. Compiled by V. de S. Pinto and G. N. Wright. Price, 8s. 6d.

CECIL PALMER, London.
The Wisdom of G. K. Chesterton. By Patrick Braybrooke. Pp. ix. 24s. Price, 7s. 6d. n.

DENT & SONS, London.
The Letters of Peter Plymley. By Sydney Smith. Edited by G. C. Heseltine. Pp. xxii. 296. Price, 6s. n.

DE LA MORE PRESS, London.
Cantica Laeta. Pp. 95. Price, 1s. n.

GABALDA ET FILS, Paris.
L'Evangile de Jésus-Christ. 4^e édit. By Père M. J. Lagrange, O.P. Pp. xii. 656.

HARDING & MORE, London.
Ghost House. By Condé B. Pallen. Pp. 250. Price, 5s.

HEINEMANN, London.
The Making of the Christian Mind. By G. G. Atkins, D.D. Pp. xii. 336. Price, 8s. 6d.

HERDER, London.
The History of Philosophy. By P. J. Glen, S.T.D. Pp. xiii. 383. Price, 10s. 6d. n. *Church Etiquette.* Edited by Rev. F. Shultze, D.D. Pp. v. 104. Price, 3s. 6d. n. *Flowers of the Soul.* By Canon Reyna. Pp. iii. 249. Price, 7s. n. *The Child's Bible History.* Adapted by F. J. Knecht, D.D. Pp. 104. Price, 9d. n. *Catholic Faith and Practice.* By Rev. J. Pichler. Pp. xiv. 458. Price, 10s. 6d. n. *Holy Orders and Ordinations.* By Rev. J. Tixeront. Pp. x. 371. Price, 9s. n. *A Scripture Manual.* By J. M. Simon, O.S.M. Vol. II. Pp. x. 480. Price, 16s. n. *Sundays of the Saints.* By Rev. M. A. Chapman. Pp. viii. 217. Price, 7s. n. *The Lay Apostolate.* By J. J. Harbrecht, S.T.D. Pp. xxiv. 488. Price, 12s. n.

HODGES, FIGGIS & CO., Dublin.
Modern Research. By Dom L. Gougaud, O.S.B. Pp. 58. Price, 1s.

JACKSON, WYLIE & CO., Glasgow.
A History of the League (1576-1595). By M. Wilkinson, M.A. Pp. xi. 223. Price, 10s. 6d. n.

LONGMANS, London.
Jesus according to St. Mark. Pp. xxv. 564. Price, 20s. n. *Wolsey.* By A. F. Pollard, M.A. Pp. xvi. 393. Price, 21s. n. *War in World-History.* By A. R. Cowan. Pp. vi. 120. Price, 6s. n. *Renunciation in Dante.* By Sister Mary Rose Gertrude. Pp. xi. 164. Price, 7s. 6d. n.

SANDS & CO., London.
The White Fathers and their Missions. Edited by F. Bouniol, W.F. Illustrated. Pp. 334. Price, 8s. 6d. n. *What is Sacrificial Immolation?* By J. Brodie Brosnan. Pp. 171. Price, 3s. 6d. n.

SHEED & WARD, London.
Survivals and New Arrivals. By Hilaire Belloc. Pp. 288. Price, 7s. 6d. n. *Prayers worth Learning.* Selected by Fr. H. Drinkwater. Pp. 94. Price, 1s. 6d. *Jørgensen; an Autobiography.* Vol. II. Pp. 407. Price, 10s. 6d. n. *Good Scouting.* By Vera Barclay. Pp. ix. 149. Price, 2s. 6d. *Travellers' Prayers.* By C. C. Martindale, S.J. Pp. 32. Price, 9d. *The Unseen World.* By H. E. Cardinal Lepicier, O.S.M. Pp. xix. 332. Price, 10s. 6d. n. *The Evidence of the Catacombs.* By Orazio Marucchi. Illustrated. Pp. ix. 113. Price, 3s. 6d. n. *The Witness of the Martyrs.* Edited by Lady Catherine Ashburnham. Pp. xvii. 179. Price, 3s. 6d. n.

S.P.C.K., London.
St. Bernard on Humility. Edited by B. R. V. Mills, M.A. Pp. xxxv. 95. Price, 6s. n.

TEQUIT, Paris.
L'Ami de Pêcheurs. By A. Galy, S.M. Pp. xii. 310. Price, 10.00 fr. *Le Scrupule.* By d'Agnel and d'Espiney. Pp. vi. 298. Price, 15.00 fr. *Mois de Marie.* By J. Millot. Pp. 252. Price, 9.00 fr. *Lourdes.* By Dr. Valet. Pp. 233. Price, 9.00 fr. *Manuel d'Adoration.* By L. Barret, S.M. Pp. 228. Price, 5.00 fr. *Directive Pratique.* 7^e édit. By Canon Laurent. Pp. 296. Price, 10.00 fr. *La Bonne Providence.* By Canon H. Morice. Pp. 211. Price, 7.00 fr.

THE AMERICA PRESS, New York.
The Pope and Italy. By W. Parsons, S.J. Pp. 134.

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